

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century; including Biographical Notices of Translators, and other eminent Biblical Scholars. By the Rev. James Townley. 8vo. 3 vols. pp. 1620. Price 2l. 2s. London. 1821.

IT often happens that the greatest moral or political advantages are enjoyed by persons who, having been put in possession of them almost gratuitously, have no adequate apprehension of the means to which they are indebted for them. This is strikingly true in reference to the majority of readers of the Holy Scriptures in vernacular translations. The benefit conferred upon them is of a transcendently important kind; but of the difficulties which have been overcome, and the labour and cost expended in the preparation of the gift, how few have any conception! "Other men laboured," and they have "entered into their labours," without even a knowledge of their benefactors, and by no means correctly appreciating the value of the Scriptures themselves. Place a copy of the original Scriptures in the hands of an unlearned reader, and they are to him a sealed book. Nor can the seal be broken, without the labour of acquiring the languages in which they were primarily written, till translations shall have been supplied by competent scholars. The latter is, in most instances, the only practicable alternative; and the service rendered by the translators, ought, in all equity, to be estimated at the price of the time and labour saved to the individuals whom they benefit. It is, therefore, not only the gratification of a laudable curiosity, but the discharge of a grateful duty, to collect the memorials of their learned and pious labours, who, as translators and editors of the Bible, were so much the benefactors of their own, and of other and distant times.

The ample volumes before us comprise a rich fund of instruc-

tive and pleasing information on the subject of sacred bibliography. They have been compiled from a great variety of publications, many of them inaccessible to the generality of readers, and some of them of extreme rarity. We can appreciate the diligence with which Mr. Townley must have prosecuted his researches, and the difficulties which he had to overcome in the course of inquiries so minute and so extensive as those which his undertaking embraced; and we are happy to bear our testimony to the respectable manner in which he has executed his design. These volumes include accounts of the ancient versions, and of most of the modern translations of the Scriptures; interspersed throughout with biographical anecdotes and memoirs; bibliographical descriptions; sketches of ecclesiastical manners and superstitions, and of the revival and progress of learning and religion.

In the first part of this work, which comprises within rather narrow limits, an account of the state of Biblical Literature previous to the Christian era, the Author briefly notices the curious and obscure question of the origin of Alphabetical Characters, and describes the various expedients employed in ancient times for the preservation of writing. The statement of Mr. Townley, that 'the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, the *Syriac*, to which we may add the *Greek* Alphabets, not to mention any other, seem to have had but one Author,' is not very happily expressed. His meaning we suppose to be, that the greater part of those alphabets were derived from a common origin, the first one known being the model of the others; not that the several characters of which they are formed, were, as to their discovery and primary use, contemporaneous. The Samaritan alphabet exhibited by Mr. T. at p. 9, no more admits of *thorough cutting*, than does the Hebrew: the former contains certainly one *close* letter, contrary to the assertion at p. 20. The materials used in the early periods of the history of Letters, were such as were easily procured, and varied as the case might require different degrees of durability, tablets of stone being the most obvious and common for permanent records. Table-books of wood, wax, ivory, metal, the skins of animals, the leaves of trees, and similar articles were all used for the purpose.

'The *Bark of trees* is another material which has been employed in every age and quarter of the globe; and was called *Xylochartion* by the Greeks. Before the use of the Papyrus became general, the *Bark of the Philyra*, a species of the Linden tree, was frequently made use of for writing upon; and books written on it existed in the third century. The *Bark of Oak* was also used for the same purpose. Hence the Latins called a book, *Liber*, which signifies the *inner bark*

of a tree; and the Greeks used the word *φλοιος* (*Phloios*) which also means *bark*.

Of the several kinds of PAPER, used at different periods, and manufactured from various materials, the *Egyptian* is unquestionably the most ancient. The exact date of its discovery is unknown, and even the place where it was first made is matter of dispute. According to Isidore, it was first made at Memphis; and according to others, in Seide, or upper Egypt. It was manufactured from the inner films of the *Papyrus* or *Biblos*, a sort of flag or bulrush, growing in the marshes of Egypt. The outer skin being taken off, there are next, several films or inner skins, one within another. These, when separated from the stalk, were laid on a table and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile. They were afterwards pressed together and dried in the sun. From this papyrus it is, that what we now make use of to write upon, hath also the name of *papyr* or paper; though of quite another nature from the ancient *papyrus*.

According to Montfaucon, *Charta Bombycina* or *Cotton-paper*, was discovered towards the end of the ninth, or early in the tenth century. Casiri states paper to have been first manufactured in Bucharia; and that the Arabs ascribe its invention to Joseph Amria, in the year of the Hegira 88, of Christ 706. Other learned men have thought that we are indebted for it to the Chinese, from whom it passed successively to the Indians, Persians, and Arabs; and by the latter was communicated to the western nations. The manufacture of Cotton-paper, is said to be still carried on to a considerable extent in the Levant.

Paper, fabricated from *Linen Rags*, is now used throughout Europe, and almost every part of the world whither Europeans have penetrated; and is a much more valuable material for writing upon, than the *cotton-paper*. We are ignorant both of the inventor, and of the date of this important discovery. Dr. Prideaux delivers it as his opinion, that *Linen-paper* was brought from the East, because many of the oriental manuscripts are written upon it. Mabillon believes its invention to have been in the twelfth century. One of the earliest specimens of paper from linen rags, which has yet been discovered, is that in the possession of Pestel, Professor in the university of Rinteln, in Germany. It is a document, with the seal preserved, dated A.D. 1239; and signed by Adolphus, Count of Schaumburg. But Casiri positively affirms, that there are many manuscripts in the Escorial, both upon cotton and linen-paper, written prior to the thirteenth century. This invention appears to have been very early introduced into England; for Dr. Prideaux assures us, he had seen a register of some acts of John Cranden, Prior of Ely, made on linen-paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King Edward II. A.D. 1320; and in the Cottonian library are said to be several writings on this kind of paper, as early as the year 1335. The first Paper-mill erected in this kingdom, is said to have been at Dartford, in 1588, by M. Spilman, a German. Shakspeare, however, refers it to the reign of Henry VI., and makes Jack Cade (Henry VI. part ii.) say, in accusation of Lord Sands: "Whereas, before, our forefathers had

no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused Printing to be used, and contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill." During the same reign, the head of the Duke of York, with a paper crown upon it, was placed on the walls of the city of York.'

Among the Biblical scholars of the last century, but few are entitled to take precedence of the distinguished Editor of the Codex Alexandrinus. His qualifications as a critic were of the first order; and had his life been prolonged, the proofs of his learning and judgement would probably have been multiplied sufficiently to class him with the most useful of his critical compeers. Of this celebrated Editor, we have the following biographical notice.

'CHARLES GODFREY WOIDE was a native of Poland. Whilst at the University of Leyden in 1750, he was employed in transcribing the Coptic Lexicon of La Croze, formerly librarian to the King of Prussia, at Berlin. This work he undertook at the request of the Rev. Christian Scholtz, chaplain in ordinary to the King of Prussia, who was engaged in completing a grammar of both the Egyptian dialects, under the sanction of Dr. Jablonsky, his brother-in-law, an eminent professor at Frankfort. Sometime afterwards, he came over to England, where his first preferment was the Preachership of the Dutch Chapel in the Savoy, (succeeding the Rev. Bernard Drimel, a native of Frankfort on the Oder, who died in June 1770,) to which he soon after added the Readership of the same chapel. In 1773 and 4, he was sent under the auspices of his present Majesty to Paris, for the purpose of transcribing several Sahidic and Memphitic MSS. where he resided about four months. In 1775, he revised through the Clarendon Press, Scholtz's "Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum," 4to. He was elected F.S.A. in 1778; and distinguished himself the same year by publishing a Coptic and Sahidic grammar under the following title: "Christ. Scholtz Grammatica Ægypti utriusque dialecti quam breviavit, illustravit, edidit C. G. Woide." 4to. In 1782, Mr. Woide was appointed an assistant librarian at the British Museum; at first, in the department of natural history; but very soon after, in one more congenial to his studies, that of printed books. In 1786 came out his truly valuable edition of the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, dedicated to the then Archbishop of Canterbury; on which occasion he was introduced to his Majesty at the levee; and had the honour of presenting him with a copy of his work. He was this year admitted to the honorary degree of LL.D. in the University of Oxford. He had before obtained the degree of D.D. from the University of Copenhagen. In 1788 he was elected F.R.S. The latter part of his life was chiefly devoted to examining and collating the fragments of the Sahidic version of the New Testament, and in preparing them for the press. He also revised and corrected the Greek quotations in Bishop Hurd's edition of Warburton's works. On May 6th, 1790, while at Sir Joseph Banks's, with a select party of literary friends, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; every assistance was administered to him, and

he was attended by Dr. Carmichael Smith, but died the next day, at his apartments in the British Museum. He left two orphan daughters, having been bereaved, some years before, of Mrs. Woide, who died August 12th, 1782.' Vol. I. p. 104.

Bibliomancy, or *Divination by the Bible*, was one of the superstitions which found an early introduction into the Church. Like many others of those pernicious practices which began to prevail as the purity of the Christian profession was becoming corrupted, it was borrowed from Heathen customs. It consisted in opening the Bible suddenly, and taking the first passage that met the eye, as a prediction of the fortunes of the inquirer. Some credulous persons, we believe, still retain a prejudice in favour of this superstition, and occasionally employ it as a means of determining their doubts; but the public recognition and the formalities of the practice have passed away. It is no longer used, as it was in the times of ignorance, as a means of detecting heretical opinions. One Peter of Thoulouse, for instance, being accused of heresy, and having denied it upon oath, a person who stood by took up the Gospels, on which he had been sworn, and opened them suddenly, when the first words he lighted upon were those of the Devil to our Saviour, (Mark i. 24.) "What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?" Which, says the relator, agreed well with such a heretic, 'who indeed had nothing to do with Christ.' Nor is this mode of divination now practised in the *election of bishops*, the ceremony of a *Congé d'élire*, being, if not a more primitive, a less doubtful method of providing suitably for the highest offices of the Church. The custom of Divination by the Bible was continued in the cathedral of Boulogne, at Ypres, and at St. Omer, so late as the year 1744.

Practices of this baneful description were partially restrained by the pious endeavours of many of the early Christians; but in times of decreasing knowledge, they were sure of being countenanced. We much question the correctness of the Author's statement, (Vol. I. p. 120.) that, in those early times, 'accurate copies of the Holy Scriptures were every where multiplied, and that at such moderate prices, as rendered them easy of purchase.' We should judge the very opposite of this representation to be nearer the fact. Previously to the multiplication of copies of the Bible by the press, and in periods when they were to be obtained only from transcribers, they must have been costly, and consequently scarce. The rarity of the Bible was both a cause and an effect of the decreasing use of the sacred Scriptures. More correct remarks on this subject will be found in subsequent parts of the work. In this very volume, for instance, (p. 124.) we are told, that

it was customary in the ancient churches to have BIBLES, in the vulgar tongue, placed in a convenient part of the church, for the people, at their leisure, to employ themselves in reading the Scriptures before or after Divine service; a practice rendered peculiarly necessary by the enormous expense of transcribing so large a volume as the Bible prior to the invention of printing. Again, the reader is very properly told, (p. 330.) that, 'from the length of time requisite for the transcription of books, and the immense labour bestowed upon them, the expense of copying MSS. was necessarily very great.' This, joined to the cost of the materials for writing upon, rendered the purchase of books almost impossible to the poor and persons of moderate fortune.

In the account of the Gothic version of Ulphilas, preserved in the Codex Argenteus, in the library of the University of Upsal in Sweden, the recent discoveries of the Abate Angelo Maio should have been noticed. This learned person detected in the recesses of the Ambrosian library at Milan, in 1817, two manuscripts containing the thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul in the Maeso-Gothic dialect. These manuscripts are *Codices Rescripti*, containing the ancient transcript of the version of Ulphilas under a subsequent writing of a later date. They are both injured by the effects of time; but fortunately, the defects of the one can be supplied by the other, and they afford the means of collation to a considerable extent. The best edition of the Gospels of Ulphilas's Version, hitherto published, is stated by Mr. Townley to be the one prepared by Benzell, and published by Lye at Oxford, in 1750. This character has, we believe, been generally considered as belonging to the edition published at Weissenfels, in 1805, by M. Zahn, which Mr. Townley has described in a note, Vol. I. p. 322.

Dissenterism would seem from the following extract, not to have an exclusive claim to be considered as 'the religion of burns.' Very humble edifices appear to have been used in days of yore, for the service of the legitimate Church; and many buildings not more magnificent than the lowly fabric of Greensted church, but dignified with the symbols of Episcopacy, still remain as so many witnesses in this land, of its primitive descent and its unpretending claims.

'Bede informs us, that anciently there was not a stone church in all this island, but that the custom was to build them all of wood; so that when Bishop Ninyas built one of stone, it was such an unusual thing, that the place was called from it *Candida Casa*, Whithern, or Whitchurch. (Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 4.) The church erected on the place where St. Edmund was martyred, at Bedricksworth, or Kingston, since called St. Edmundsbury, was built after the same manner. Trunks

of large trees were sawn lengthways in the middle, and reared up with one end fixed in the ground, with the bark or rough side outermost. These trunks being made of an equal height, and set up close to one another, and the interstices filled up with mud, formed the four walls, upon which was raised a thatched roof. Of the low rough manner of building in use among our ancestors, we have, or lately had, an example still standing, in part of Greensted church, near Ongar, in Essex. In this church, the most ancient part, the nave or body, was entirely composed of the trunks of large oaks split, and rough-hewed on both sides. They were set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they were fastened with wooden pins. "This," says Ducarel, "was the whole of the original church, which yet remains entire, though much corroded and worn by length of time. It is 29 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet 6 inches high, on the sides which supported the primitive roof." But perhaps nothing more satisfactorily proves the general practice of building with wood, than the Anglo-Saxon verb commonly used when buildings are spoken of being erected. It is *getymbrian*, 'to make of wood.' Where Bede says of any one that he built a monastery or a church, Alfred, in his translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, uses the word *getimbrade*.
p. 253.

It is well for the best interests of mankind, that unmixed evil is rarely, if ever, the character of the worst institutions. Whatever present mischief, or dangerous tendency, may be included in the principles to which such institutions owe their establishment, happily they are found to conceal elements of good, which become effective in correcting the evil tendency of those principles, long before the systems with which they are blended, fall into decay. The seeds of liberty spring up and attain maturity in soils prepared and cultivated by the hand of despotism. The means to which the ignorance and barbarism of some ages are justly attributed, become, in others, efficient in promoting knowledge and civilization. The tendency and effects of the monastic foundations of the middle ages, were, in many respects, debasing to society. That they were not designed or adapted to enlighten mankind by imparting knowledge to the community, is sufficiently apparent from the fact, that, as they increased in number and in influence, mankind became decreasingly intelligent and more enslaved to superstition. The monastic foundations, however, were the principal conservatories of literature in the dark ages. Here were preserved the books of antiquity, and copies of them were multiplied by transcription. The classic authors, the Evangelists and Apostles, and the early ecclesiastical writers, found a sanctuary in these institutions, from the ravagers of learning and religion. If the inhabitants of the cloisters were not to their contemporaries, the "lights of the world," they kept from

extinction the lamps of literature for the benefit of subsequent ages. Much of their labour was doubtless little better than a waste of strength and patience; but they were sometimes laudably employed; and we must acknowledge the utility of their employments when we consider how many of the works of antiquity have descended to us through their hands. The writing-rooms of the great abbeys were work-shops of literature. Our readers may obtain perhaps some information from the following description of these manufactories of Manuscript books.

* In every great abbey, there was an apartment called the *SCRIPTORIUM*, or *Domus Antiquarii*, where writers were constantly employed in copying Psalters, Missals, Church Music, and such other works as they could obtain. The monks in these conventual writing-rooms, were enjoined to pursue their occupations in silence; and cautiously to avoid mistakes in grammar, or spelling, or pointing; and in certain instances, authors prefixed to their works a solemn adjuration to the transcribers to copy them correctly. When a number of copies were to be made of the same work, it was usual to employ several persons at the same time in writing it; each person, except the writer of the first skin, began where his fellow was to leave off. Sometimes the writers wrote after another person called the *Dictator*, who held the original, and dictated; hence the errors in the orthography of many ancient MSS., particularly Greek ones; thus in the very old fragments of the Greek Gospels, in the Cotton Library, written in large ancient letters of silver and gold, *CIIPAN* is written for *σπῆραν*, *KYPHNEON* for *κλῆναιον* [*κρυπταῖον*], and many others.

* These writing monks were sometimes distinguished by the name of *LIBRARI*, the term applied to the common *Scriptores*, who gained a livelihood by writing; but their more usual denomination was that of *ANTIQUARI*. Isidore of Seville, says, "The *Librarii* transcribed both old and new works; the *Antiquarii* only those that were ancient; from whence also they derived their name." Swift or short-hand writers obtained the name of *Tachygraphi*; and elegant writers that of *Calligraphi*; the works executed in large uncial or square characters were written by the latter; such for instance as the fifty copies of the Scriptures presented by Constantine the Great to the different churches, and the fifty copies sent by Athanasius to Constantius: and in the thirteenth century the scribes in Italy, called themselves *Scriptores Librorum*, or *Exemplatores*. It was the duty of the librarian, who was the *Præcentor* of the monastery, to provide the writing monks with the books they were to copy, and whatever was necessary for their occupation; they were also forbidden to write any thing without his permission; and in some of the great houses it was usual for the librarians to make some benefit, by letting others have copies made of the MSS. in their custody. The librarians were themselves, generally, fine writers and illuminators.

* Besides being employed in the transcription of the Scriptures, and ecclesiastical works, and sometimes of the classics, the monks were the registrars of public events, of the age and succession of the king, and of

the births of the royal family: and the constitutions of the clergy in their national and provincial synods, and (after the conquest) even acts of parliament were sent to the abbeys to be recorded by them. Instances also appear of the Pope's sending orders for certain books to be made for him; and the monks used to transcribe the bulls of privileges, in books of a various nature, as missals, and others, as well as make marginal notes of the affairs of their abbeys in books of history; even the *Martyrologium* sometimes contained acts of general chapters.

Those who were engaged in the transcription of books, were principally the novices and junior monks; but by a capitular of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789, it was ordained, that "the GOSPELS, PSALTERS, and MISSALS should be carefully written by monks of mature age." Nuns were sometimes occupied in a similar way; but none of the Gilbertine nuns were to write books without leave of the grand prior, or hire or retain writers in their churches.

CALLIGRAPHY, or the art of beautiful writing, has been considered as having arrived at its summit of excellence in the monasteries of Spain; though it was not confined to them, for, in England, the Anglo-Saxon artists possessed eminent skill in the execution of their books, and the character they used had the honour of giving rise to the modern small beautiful Roman letter. But after the Norman invasion, degeneracy of skill occasioned the MSS. subsequent to that period, to be of difficult reading. The missals, and other books of divine offices, were indeed curiously done, through the extraordinary expense laid out upon works of this nature, and in compliance with an injunction, that no books should be brought into places of devotion which could not easily be read. Some copies were written in a larger hand, for more aged persons; and others illuminated with extraordinary beauty, for nuns of a superior quality, and other persons of distinction. At Godstowe, there was a common library for the use of the nuns there, well furnished with books, many of which were in English, and divers of them historical: such of them as contained "the lives of the holy men and women," especially of the latter, were curiously written *on vellum*, and many illuminations appeared throughout, so as to draw the nuns the more easily to follow their examples: and many of them "were finely covered, not unlike the Kiver of the Gospell book given to the chapel of Glastonbury, by King Inc." Vol. I. pp. 316—320.

The Canons promulgated for the government of ecclesiastical persons, of which notice is often taken by the Author of these volumes, are instructive memorials of the state of the Church in the various periods to which they refer, and afford considerable assistance to the historian in his researches into the state of knowledge and manners in those times. Many of them are marked with the impress of wisdom; as 'That no learned priest do reproach him that is half-learned, but mend him, if he know how.' Some are to be applauded for their humanity, as one of Anselm's, 'That none exercise that wicked trade, which has hitherto been practised in England, of selling men like beasts.'

Some were provided against delinquents whose manners did not become obsolete when they left the world, as 'That no priest be a hunter, or hawker, or player at dice; but entertain himself with his book, as becometh his order.'—'Let none that would appear to be clerks, wear or bear arms, but make their manners and clothes suitable to their profession; or else be degraded as despisers of the canons and of ecclesiastical authority.' We suspect, however, that offenders in those days were not rigidly dealt with in respect to some of the transgressions denounced by these laws. Canons have accomplished but little in the reformation of the lives of ecclesiastics. It is satisfactory to perceive that public opinion, as knowledge becomes more generally diffused, is far more effective in subduing the irregularities inveighed against by the framers of canonical codes.

As a part of the History of Biblical Literature, some account is given of the religious Dramas of the middle ages. The origin of these theatrical exhibitions of Scriptural incidents, has been variously represented, and three different hypotheses are mentioned by the Author. The first of these traces their rise to the public marts or fairs of Europe, whither the merchants repaired, accompanied with minstrels and buffoons, to attract customers to their shops or booths. A second attributes their origin to the Greek ecclesiastics, who, with the design of exploding the heathen dramas, introduced these Christian spectacles. The third hypothesis assigns their rise to the ancient pilgrimages to the Holy Land: the pilgrims on returning, composed songs and interludes, founded on the principal objects of their journey to Jerusalem, performing their exhibitions in the various places through which they passed in their way home. Recondite research and nice speculation have perhaps been needlessly employed in tracing out the descent of the monkish Mysteries. The ecclesiastics of those times could not be strangers to the ancient theatre; and there is no reason to doubt that dramatic amusements were continued, in some form or other, from the earliest times among almost all nations. The introduction of dramas into the Church, is not very difficult to be accounted for. Popularity and power were the constant objects of concern to its patrons, and they were, it is well known, not very scrupulous about the means of accomplishing their purpose. The ecclesiastics of the middle ages, the agents of a superstition ever fertile in expedients to delude the understandings and enslave the passions of mankind, adopted scenic representations as a mode of preserving and extending their influence. They were a grateful spectacle to the multitude, and were well adapted to aid that kind of devotion which requires neither the

mind to be enlightened, nor the heart to be made good. These exhibitions, in which the principal personages and transactions of the Bible were introduced, were often prepared by the leading ecclesiastics of the time, and were performed in the churches with great ceremony on the principal festivals. They were generally of a humorous character, though, probably, they were less calculated to excite the comic feelings of the actors and spectators, than we may imagine. We may laugh where they would keep perfectly grave, as being but ill qualified to detect those anachronisms and incongruous associations which, to our better information, are so ludicrous. But they were unquestionably intended to divert. The burlesque is indispensable to the entertainment of the illiterate, as it is sometimes grateful to their superiors in knowledge. Shakspeare himself, ever true to nature, would rather violate the unities, than serve up to the populace an exhibition not in unison with their predilections and manners. In this he was but conforming to an established practice. In thus blending the ludicrous with the grave, the authors of the mysteries were his precedents, the most grotesque personages being permitted to mix with the sobrieties of the miracle plays. Mr. Townley has furnished some specimens of these Scripture Dramas. In one of them, Noah and his wife are introduced, not in the best humour with each other. The latter is somewhat tardy in entering the Ark; and in replying to her husband, who urges her to quicken her steps, she swears by St. John, while her gossips make merry with 'a pot-tell-full of Malmeseye gode and stronge.'

'In Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary, written about the year 1570, there is a curious passage, which so completely exposes the burlesque and profane nature of these representations, especially in the times immediately preceding the reformation from popery, that I shall transcribe it for the information of the reader: "In the days of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in manner of a show, or interlude, the Resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain small puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once saw in Poule's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the rooffe of the great ile, and by a longe censer, which desendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde,

was swung up and downe at such a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathing out over the hole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the Nativitie, Passion, and Ascension." "

Vol. I. pp. 427, 8.

In the concluding note to the first volume of the work, a singular misapprehension has led the Author to impute error to a perfectly accurate statement of Bishop Marsh's. In describing the "*Horreum Mysteriorum*" of Bar Hebræus, Mr. Townley represents the learned Annotator on Michaelis as mistakingly supposing that there was no edition of the *Syriac* version of the Revelation of St. John, published by De Dieu in 1627. Now it is quite clear that the Translator of Michaelis supposes nothing of the kind; the note on Michaelis, to which Mr. Townley refers, is in correction of Michaelis's error respecting the date of De Dieu's "*Animadversiones in loca difficiliora V. et N. Testamenti.*" The accuracy of the learned Annotator on Michaelis is so much the result of careful examination, and the benefits which he has conferred on every reader of Michaelis's Introduction are so valuable, that we feel it to be our duty to guard the character of his notes from such an unintentional misconstruction of their import as in the case before us.

It is highly creditable to Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, that, on learning the design of Mr. Townley's work, while in the course of preparation, he not only gave permission to the Author to make a free use of the account of Icelandic Versions contained in the Appendix to his "*Journal of a Residence in Iceland,*" but, without solicitation, requested the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society to accommodate him with the loan of a *Manuscript History of Danish Versions*, written by himself, and presented to the Library of that Institution. We are pleased to notice instances of liberal feeling so honourable to the parties, as well as productive of so much benefit to the public. From the valuable document in question, which is frequently quoted in these volumes, Mr. Townley has extracted an account of a singular Danish Version of the Old Testament, the manuscript of which is deposited in the Royal Library of Copenhagen; it is supposed to have been made in the *thirteenth*, or in the beginning of the *fourteenth* century. The text of this translation is worthy of being included among the curiosities of literature.

"The version is done exactly according to the Vulgate, and faithfully adopts all its faults; nor can this be matter of surprise to those

who know, that it has been doubted by those best acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of that country, whether at that period, there were any of the clergy who so much as understood the Greek Testament, in Denmark; and that many of the ecclesiastics themselves, had not an opportunity of forming any acquaintance even with the Vulgate. The translator of the Danish version has not only in general servilely followed the Vulgate, but has at times attempted to express the derivation of the Latin words in his version, which could not fail, in many instances, to render it ridiculous. Thus the Almighty is introduced Genesis xxvi. 5, as commending Abraham for making use of *wax-candles* in the observance of his religious rites. The Vulgate has *Ceremonias*, which this translation renders: "Because Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge and commandments, and kept feast-days with wax, that is, wax-candles, and laws." The same rendering occurs also in several other places. In Exodus xxviii. 4, the Latin terms used to describe the garments of the priests, are explained by the sacerdotal apparel of the Romish church. Great use is made of synonymes by way of explication, especially in those passages in which Latin words are introduced." Vol. II. p. 30.

The history of Biblical learning in the fourteenth century, possesses but little interest till toward its close, when one of those extraordinary persons appeared, whose names are connected with important revolutions in the state of society. No name in the ecclesiastical literature of this country is more truly illustrious than that of WICLIF, and but few names in the annals of any country, are better entitled to a grateful and permanent record. The times in which he lived, and those which almost immediately succeeded them, are memorable periods in the history of society; and they were powerfully controlled and influenced by the genius of this intrepid reformer. He was one of those individuals who, in the fearless courage with which they pursue their course, and the moral changes which they introduce, may be said to come to the world in the spirit and power of Elijah. If Luther's name be a more splendid one in the memorials of the Reformation, he owes this distinction less to the superiority of his qualifications as a leader in the cause of Christian liberty, than to the signal concurrence of circumstances which marked the era of his enterprise, and which most essentially contributed to its success. He had those advantages over his predecessors, which must always be wanting to the conductors of a first attempt, for whom the way has not been prepared by strong excitements of opinion and feeling in their favour; and he was supported by a number of coadjutors, each of whom was an efficient member of the holy confederacy against the tyranny of the Romish Church. Much had been done towards the diminution of ecclesiastical power, when Luther became its opponent. But the authority of the

Church had scarcely been questioned, and its dominion was supreme, when the English Reformer commenced his opposition to its claims. Without the aid of the press, a benefit reserved for the writers of subsequent times, his opinions and the productions of his pen obtained an extensive circulation, and procured disciples to his doctrines in various parts of the Continent. 'If,' says Speede, 'we cast our eie on the Reformed Churches in Christendome, and with them on Luther, Husse, and Jerome of Prague, they will all confesse they first took their light from the learned Wicliffe of Oxford, the lampe of whose sacred knowledge hath illumined not only all the corners of this kingdom, but also all those foreign states whom it hath pleased God to deliver from the thralldrom and vengeance of Babylon.' In Wiclif's own age, there were patrons of learning in the Church, who deplored the ignorance of its ministers, but they were totally averse to the intellectual improvement of the people. His contemporaries complained, that by translating the Bible out of Latin into English, he had laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding.

The maxim asserted by Chillingworth, that 'the Bible only is the religion of Protestants,' was previously assumed by Luther; but it was long before substantially and strongly maintained by Wiclif: 'Dogma ejus præcipuum fuit, *Extra Biblia in rebus spiritualibus non esse quærendam veritatem.*' The influence of this maxim, and the effects which he anticipated from its recognition, were the motives which produced one of the most interesting and useful of the labours of this great man, his translation of the Scriptures. Some account of this work is given in the volumes before us, accompanied with a brief sketch of the life of Wiclif; which we thus notice for the purpose of remarking how imperfectly one of the most important eras in our national history has hitherto been executed. It is an opprobrium to our literature, that it includes no adequate life of this remarkable person. Lewis's "History of the Life and Sufferings of the Rev. and learned John Wiclif, D.D." is a work of merit, and deserves much praise, as being a spirited attempt to redeem its subject from discreditable neglect. A brief, but excellent and useful memoir of Wiclif, by the Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, is prefixed to a recent edition of the Reformer's Version of the New Testament. But these publications, though they will instruct and gratify the reader, fall short of what a history of the life and times of Wiclif ought to be to do justice to the subject, and still leave us to repeat the wish of one of his admirers, 'that

‘some generous pen might appear more fully in the cause of Wiclif, and do justice to so eminent a confessor.’ The influence which Mr. Townley, after Warton, attributes to the translation of the Bible admitted into the churches in the reign of Edward VI., was previously exerted by Wiclif’s translation, which ‘enriched our native English at an early period, by importing and familiarising many Latin words, such as *perdition, adoption, inexcusable, transfigure, &c.*’

John Herman Wesselus, of Groningen, was another of those precursors of Luther, to whom the world has never yet discharged its debt of gratitude, and whose recompense is reserved till the resurrection of the just. A man with whose opinions the German Reformer declared the entire coincidence of his own sentiments, must have some claim to be remembered. He opposed with vigour the despotism of Aristotle in the Schools, and the power of the Romish Pontiff in the Church, asserted the authority of the Scriptures, maintained the inefficacy of pilgrimages, festivals and fasts, and exposed others of the numerous and strange errors which in those times bound almost every mind in the fetters of superstition. His learning and his extraordinary religious knowledge obtained for him the appellation of *Lux Mundi, the Light of the World*. Wesselus was too formidable an assailant of the doctrines which the Romish Church found it essential to its preservation to enforce, to escape persecution. His opposition to the Romish errors and the prevailing dogmas and subtilties of the Schools, subjected him to considerable danger; and though his reputation for learning and piety was great, and he had powerful protectors, we cannot agree with his present Biographer, that ‘he escaped uninjured by the storm.’ He did not, indeed, perish in the raging of the tempest, but neither did he escape shipwreck. He was one of those timid spirits, whose attachment to the truth shrinks from the fiery trial which the spirit of the martyr outbraves. The patronage of his powerful friends was insufficient to preserve him from the ordeal of an inquisition into the opinions which he had published, and could avail only, on his submission and retractation, to procure the extinguishing of the flames which he saw prepared; a costly sacrifice for a few years more of life! But, in his case, perhaps, the influence of friendship had a greater share than fear, in inducing the compromise he made by his concession, and, more than the unmitigated severity of his judges, subdued his fortitude. To estimate aright the comparative rewards which the benefactors of mankind shall receive from their omniscient Judge, is a matter far too high for human speculation; but possibly, He who will dispense them may withhold from

some who have died in the defence of truth, the crown of martyrdom, and put honour on some who fainted through infirmities of the flesh. From Mr. Townley's short account of this eminent person, we shall give our readers one extract.

'On the advancement of Cardinal Francis de Rovere to the papal chair, under the name of Sixtus IV., he sent for him to Rome, and promised to grant him whatever he would ask. Wesselus answered, "Holy father and kind patron, I shall not press hard upon your holiness. You well know I never aimed at great things. But as you now sustain the character of the supreme pontiff and shepherd on earth, my request is, that you would so discharge the duties of your elevated station, that your praise may correspond with your dignity, and that when the Great Shepherd shall appear, whose first minister you are, he may say, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord:" and moreover, that you may be able to say boldly, "Lord, thou gavest me five talents, behold I have gained five other talents." The pope replied, "That must be my care; but do you ask something for yourself." "Then," rejoined Wesselus, "I beg you to give me out of the Vatican library a GREEK and a HEBREW BIBLE." "You shall have them," said Sixtus, "but, foolish man, why don't you ask for a bishoprick or something of that sort?" "For the best of reasons," said Wesselus, "because I do not want such things." The Hebrew Bible thus presented, was long afterwards preserved in his native city of Groningen. He died in 1489, aged 70.' Vol. II. p. 176.

Wesselus was one of the first powerful opponents of the errors and abuses of the Church of Rome, whose attempts to restore the purity of the truth received the aid of the Art of Printing; the glory of the fifteenth century, and the most powerful auxiliary of knowledge ever enlisted in its service. Delightful and animating must have been the anticipations with which the application of this noble invention to the increase of learning and the cause of religion, were regarded by wise and good men at that era. The slowness with which they had hitherto proceeded in their labours, and the narrow limits to which the circulation of their opinions by writing was restricted, when copies of books could be multiplied only by transcription, would lead them highly to appreciate the new invention, and to avail themselves with eagerness of its immense advantages. It is quite refreshing to peruse the exultations of Fox, the martyrologist, on contemplating the consequences of this accession to the means of the intellectual and moral improvement of mankind. A more honest or more appropriate eulogy on the press was never pronounced.

"Hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgement increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read,

stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; or else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. Both the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisibly in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of JOHN HUSS before and of JEROM, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure: yet, instead of JOHN HUSS, and others, God hath opened the *press* to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop, with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven: and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is opened to all."

Fox's *Actes and Monumentes*, I. p. 837. Townley, Vol. II. p. 98.

It is altogether surprising that this distinguished art should have been reserved to take its place among the later inventions of mankind. That with the elements of the art in their hands, as often as a seal was cut, or a mark impressed by stamping, and with all the excitement of a highly advanced literary culture, no genius arose among the ancients to suggest the adaptation of the prevailing modes of inscribing materials, to the multiplication of the productions of literature, is among the most remarkable circumstances in the history of letters. It came late into the world; but it came at a signal crisis, and must have thrown into discomfiture that class in society who were calculating on the continuance of the moral darkness which had enabled them to oppress their species. To 'seek a new world to reign over,' was an enterprise too hopeless to be attempted. To stop the voice of the Press, was an alternative which afforded some promise, since, if it were found impossible to deprive it of speech, it might be practicable to impede its utterance. Book-censors, and Licensers of the Press, were therefore put into requisition, with instructions to watch the operations of the Press, to prohibit the sale of books not in accordance with the principles and views of their ecclesiastical superiors, and to prescribe the conditions on which alone the productions of genius and virtue were to be suffered to see the light. Pope Alexander VI., infamous for his horrid crimes, a monster of vice, to be delivered from whose contaminations the earth was groaning, issued a bull relating to the censure of books, which commences with lamenting that Satan sows tares amongst the wheat of Christ's Church, and proceeds to guard, by pecuniary fines and the sentence of excommunica-

tion, the 'holy Christian religion' from the 'detestable evil' of books 'contrary to the orthodox faith.' Leo X. also, a pontiff whom piety and virtue had no share in rendering illustrious, was a fulminator of papal terrors against the authors of books containing doctrines not approved by the ministers of the Vatican.

'In Rome, the compilers of the catalogues, or *indexes*, of prohibited books, are still continued, and called the *Congregation of the Index*. The works noticed in the indexes are divided into three classes; the first containing a list of condemned *authors*, the whole of whose writings are forbidden, except by express permission; the second enumerating works which are prohibited, till they have been purged of what the inquisitors deem erroneous; the third comprehending those *anonymous* publications which are either partially or totally forbidden. The manner in which the Romish literary inquisitors formerly decided upon the works presented to them, was sometimes criminally careless, and the results sufficiently curious. Gregory Capuchin, a Neapolitan censor, informs us, that his practice was to burn such Bibles as were defective in the text; and that his mode of ascertaining the accuracy or inaccuracy of the Latin Bibles was, to examine the *third* chapter of Genesis, and "if I find," says he, "the words, 'in sudore vultus tui, vesceris pane tuo,' instead of 'in sudore vultus tui, vesceris pane donec,' (thus adding the word *tuo*,) I direct such copies not to be corrected, but to be committed to the flames." As the *Indexes* were formed in different countries, the opinions were sometimes diametrically opposite to each other, and what one censor, or inquisitor, allowed, another condemned; and even in some instances, the censor of one country has his own works condemned in another. Thus the learned Arias Montanus, who was a chief inquisitor in the Netherlands, and concerned in the compilation of the *Antwerp Index*, had his own works placed in the *Index of Rome*; while the inquisitor of Naples was so displeased with the *Index of Spain*, as to persist in asserting that it had never been printed at Madrid. This difference in judgment produced a doubtful and uncertain method of censure, and it became necessary for the inquisitors to subscribe their names to the indexes, in the following manner: "I, N.—inquisitor for such a diocese, do say, that this present book, thus by me corrected, may be tolerated and read, until such time as it shall be thought worthy of some further correction." But these *Prohibitory* and *Expurgatory Indexes* were reserved only for the inquisitors, and when printed, delivered only into their hands, or those of their most trusty associates. Philip II., in his letters patent for the printing of the first Spanish index, acknowledges, that it was printed by the King's printer, and at his own expense, *not for the public, but solely for the inquisitors, and certain ecclesiastics, who were not to be permitted to communicate the contents of it, or give a copy of it to any one.* And Sandoval, archbishop of Toledo, in the edition of 1619, prohibits, under pain of the greater excommunication, *any one to print the Index, or cause it to be printed; or when printed to send it out of the kingdom, without a special licence.*

So difficult, indeed, were they to be obtained, that it is said the Spanish and Portuguese Indexes were never known till the English took Cadiz; and the Index of Antwerp was accidentally discovered by Junius, who afterwards reprinted it.

Even after the Reformation, a regular establishment of *Licensers of the Press* appeared in England, under Charles I., procured by Archbishop Laud, to prevent the introduction or publication of any works by the *Genevan* party, and in particular the *Geneva Bible*. The decree is dated July 1st, 1637, and marks the violence and persecuting spirit of the ruling system.' Vol. II. pp. 129—131.

The Star-chamber and the High-commission-court, were charged with the execution of the Laudian decree; and to what purpose those cruel engines of intolerance exerted their power, is sufficiently known from, among many others, the cases of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick.

Many years elapsed before the newly invented art of printing was made available, to any extent, for the supply of the Scriptures among the population of Europe. The number of readers could not in those times have been very great, when the classes to whom letters were more accessible, the clergy and the higher ranks of the community, were so extremely ignorant. Some training, therefore, must have been requisite to the common people, before the productions of the press could confer benefit upon them. The vigilant hostility of the inquisitors appointed by the Church of Rome, was doubtless a powerful impediment to the preparation and diffusion of printed Bibles in the vulgar tongues of Europe; nor was it till the rise of Protestantism, that measures for effecting those objects could be with safety generally adopted. It is a remarkable circumstance, and strongly indicates the literary character of the period, that there was no publication of the Greek New Testament before the edition of Erasmus in 1516. The first printed Bibles were large in form and costly in price, and were probably in many instances purchased more from curiosity than for use. Of this description were the Latin Vulgate by Gutenberg and Fust, one of the earliest typographical works, and executed between 1450 and 1455,—the Latin Bible of Fust and Schoeffer, 1462, and other splendid works. The first printed vernacular version of the Scriptures seems to have been the edition of the German Bible, without date, place, or printer's name, but supposed to have been executed soon after 1460, a copy of which is preserved in Lord Spencer's Library. The four Gospels in Dutch, were printed in 1472, and a Dutch Bible in 1475. An edition of the Bohemian Bible was issued from the press in 1488. A French Version of the Old and New Testament was printed at Lyons,

without date, but supposed about 1477. A Bible in the dialect of Lower Saxony, was printed, according to Walch, at Cologne, in 1490. These were the principal vernacular publications of the Scriptures in the fifteenth century. And limited as they may seem to be, they must have produced an amazing increase of the means of scriptural knowledge, and have supplied most powerful excitement towards the acquisition of the learning necessary for their use. In the early part of the subsequent century, the demand and the supply of Bibles were become very great; the Protestant leaders providing for the success of their cause by the general diffusion of the word of God. Luther's German translation, committed to the press in 1522, was published in separate and successive parts, expressly with a view to the easy and convenient purchase of the Bible by the lower orders. Tyndal's English Version of the New Testament, first printed in 1526, was comprised in a small volume; and from this date the publication of modern versions of the Scriptures adapted to the various classes of readers, proceeded with vigour and effect. Of the editions which we have just noticed, and of many others, Mr. Townley has given descriptions, accompanied with memoirs of the translators and printers, and interspersed with anecdotes illustrative of their literary history. To one class of persons we are glad that he has devoted so much of his attention; we mean those writers who published their opinions with so much freedom in favour of the unrestricted circulation of the Scriptures. From a variety of similar passages, we select two illustrious instances: the first is Erasmus; the second Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who aided the cause of the Reformation in Scotland.

“ I differ exceedingly from those who object to the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular tongues, and read by the illiterate: as if Christ had taught so obscurely, that none could understand him, but a few theologians; or as if the Christian religion depended upon being kept secret. The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. I would have even the meanest of women to read the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of St. Paul; and I wish that the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, that they might be known and read, not only by the Irish and Scots, but also by Saracens and Turks. Assuredly, the first step is to make them known. For this very purpose, though many might ridicule, and others might frown, I wish the husbandman might repeat them at his plough, the weaver sing them at his loom, the traveller beguile the tediousness of the way, by the entertainment of their stories, and the general discourse of all Christians be concerning them, since what we are in ourselves, such we almost constantly are in our conversation.

Letters, written by those we love and esteem, are preserved and prized, and carried about with us, and read again and again; and yet

there are thousands of Christians, who, although otherwise learned, never once in the whole of their life, read the books containing the *Gospels* and *Epistles*. Mohammedans violently defend their opinions; and Jews, from their infancy, learn the precepts of Moses; but why are we not equally decisive in favour of Christ?"

Vol. II. pp. 265, 6.

Sir David Lindsay's "Exclamation to the Reader, touching the writing in vulgar and maternal Language," in the first book of his "Monarchie," is more admirable for its good sense and reasoning, than for its poetry.

' Though every Common may not be a Clark,
Nor hath no Leed except their tongue maternall,
Why should of GOD the marvellous heavenly wark
Be hid from them? I think it not fraternall.
The Father of heaven, which was and is eternall
To MOSES gave the Law on Mount SINAY,
Not into Greek nor Latine as they say.

' He wrote the Law, in tables hard of stone,
In their own vulgar language of Hebrew :
That the children of Israel every one,
Might know the Law, and to the same ensue.
Had he don write in Latine, or in Grew,
It had to them bene a savourlesse jest :
Ye may well know God wrought all for the best,

' ARISTOTLE nor PLATO I heard sane
Wrote not their philosophie naturall,
In Dutch, nor Dence, nor tongue Italiane :
But in their most proper tongue maternall.
Whose fame and name doth reigne perpetuall.
Famous VIRGIL, the Prince of Poetrie,
Nor CICERO, the flower of Oratry,

' Wrote not in Chaldie language nor in Grew,
Nor yet into the language Saraceno,
Nor in the naturall language of Hebrew,
But in the Roman tongue, as may be seen,
Which was their proper language as I weene.
When Romanes reigned Dominators indeed,
The ornate Latine was their proper Leede.

' Right so Children and Ladies of Honours,
Pray in Latine to them an uncouth Leede,
Mumblin their Matine, Evensong, and their Hours,
Their PATER NOSTER, AVE, and their CREED,
It were as pleasant to their spirit indeed
God have mercy on me for to say thus,
As for to say MISEREERE MEI DEUS,

Saint HIEROME in his proper tongue Romane
 The Law of God truly he did translate,
 Out of Hebrew, Greek, and Latine in plaine,
 Which hath been hid from us long time God wait,
 Untill this time : But after my conceit,
 Had Saint HIEROME been borne into ARGYLE,
 In IRISH tongue his Books had done compyl.'

Vol. II. pp. 423—425.

A more audacious assertion was never promulgated, than the declaration of the Council of Trent, that it is manifest from experience, that more evil than good will arise from the *Holy Bible*, translated into the vulgar tongue, and allowed indiscriminately to every one. Nor can any instance of arrogant assumption be produced, more striking than the claim set up by the Romish Church to be the exclusive guardian and dispenser of the sacred Scriptures. On this subject, some very curious remarks will be found in a correspondence which Mr. Townley has inserted in his third volume, in which we find Dr. Milner stating with great gravity, that the Apostolic See of Rome does not 'vouch for the authenticity and purity of the Bible in any form, except the *Latin Vulgate*, which having constantly held in her hands, and read for so many centuries, she pronounces free from all material errors.' 'In this decree,' says Dr. M., 'she by no means condemns the *Hebrew and Greek originals*; but, as these were not familiar to her, and of course not in her safe custody for the centuries in question, she pronounces nothing about them.' This is a choice specimen of *mystification*. It must seem strange, even to absurdity, that the *originals* should not from the first have been safely deposited, and ever afterwards have been immaculately preserved in the hands of a pretended infallible guardian of the Bible. The *originals* are in other hands, and the Apostolic See of Rome is the depositary of a *translation*; a translation about which this same Apostolic See cared nothing for so long a time as nearly two centuries after Jerome had completed it! The Hebrew and Greek originals 'not familiar to her!' How then could she form a judgement of the translation of which she is declared the keeper? But how were the volumes of the *Latin Vulgate* in her safe custody? Just as the Coptic Version, or the Armenian Version, or any other version, was in the safe custody of those who used it. That such absurdities should pass current among reasonable persons, and be among the means of supporting the ridiculous claims of an exclusive priesthood, whose day of power, happily for the world, has nearly passed away, is truly astonishing. What would be thought of a company of classical scholars setting themselves up as the guardians of Homer's text, and vouching for its au-

thenticity and purity, because they had long been familiar with Pope's translation of the Grecian Poet? Or who should declare themselves the depositaries of Horace's Lyrics, and produce a French Version as their proof of authoritative guardianship? Future ages will almost find it difficult to believe that the extravagant claims and usurpations of the 'apostolical See of Rome,' had an existence, or, at least, that they were so long submitted to. The following important statement occurs at the close of the Author's account of several publications of the Bible.

'These editions of the Oriental Scriptures were the most important of the editions of the Holy Bible, published during this (seventeenth) century, in the temporal states of the Pope; and nothing can more strongly mark the restrictive influence of the papal power relative to the Bible, than the singular fact, that of 2050 editions of the whole or parts of the Scriptures, printed during this century, in the Oriental and Latin tongues, only 23* were published at Rome, and 1 at Naples; and of more than 940 editions in the modern European languages, not one was printed at Rome, or in the temporal dominions of the Pope; whilst not fewer than 14 editions of prohibitory Indexes of Books, (*Indices Prohibitorum Librorum*,) were issued from the press at Rome, during the same period†.' Vol. III. p. 382.

That defects and errors should occur in a work so miscellaneous in its contents, and so extensive in its plan, cannot be surprising, especially when it is considered how scanty and doubtful is much of the information from which the Author had to make his selections, and how perplexing it must have been to extricate facts from the discordant opinions of his predecessors. The faults of the volumes are, however, comparatively few. One of the principal deficiencies of which we are disposed to complain, is the very brief notice taken of the Canstein Bible Institution. Mr. T. should have given his readers some better account of an Institution, from the press of which three millions of copies of the entire Bible and the New Testament have been issued. The industry and the accuracy of Mr. Townley well entitle his volumes to the approbation of the critic, and to the patronage of the public. They afford a more comprehensive view of the progress of Biblical translations, and of the literary and ecclesiastical history of the Holy Scriptures, than is to be found in any other work.

* Viz. 2 editions of the Arabic Bible, 2 of the Latin Bible, 1 of the Latin New Testament, and 18 of the Psalms and other portions of the Bible in different languages. The edition at Naples was of the Psalms in Latin.

† Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. 4. *Index Chronologicus*. Le Long, I. *Eleuchus Chronologicus*. Paris, 1723. fol. Peignot, *Dictionnaire des Livres condamnés*, &c. I. pp. 260—264. Paris, 1806. 8vo.

Art. II. *Julian the Apostate.* A Dramatic Poem. By Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, Bart. 8vo. pp. 202. Price 8s. 6d. London. 1822.

THIS is one of those rare and refreshing productions of sterling mind, which repay one for wading through many a volume of dry and prosing discussion, or pert and polished mediocrity. It is not a perfect drama or a faultless poem; but it displays more dramatic invention, and contains finer poetry than any modern production with which it can fairly be brought into comparison. The conception of the character of Julian, though it does not possess all the distinctness and boldness of the older masters of the spell, is marked by great propriety and beauty; and, as imbodied in the Author's poetry, has much more personality and substance than the 'airy nothing' which strut, and sing, or rhapsodize in the pages of some of his contemporaries. Lord Byron has produced nothing equal to it, except in producing and reproducing, in every variety of masquerade—himself. Scott has nothing so intellectual or so elevated among his exquisite sketches. Always dramatic, he is never heroic. His personages are men and women, but they have always far 'more of earth in them than heaven;' acquiring nothing of that ideal grandeur and beauty, in passing through the poet's mind, which would lead us to refer them to a race of higher stature than live in these degenerate days. Nature is interpreted in his poetry, not after the manner of Buonarrotti or Shakspeare, but more in the spirit of Rembrandt or Froissart. It is, however, among the exquisite exaggerations of a mind imbued with the ideal, that the fancy is most delighted to lose recollection of the tame and vulgar realities of this work-day world, and that we feel as it were lifted up into the higher regions of poetry. We think very highly of Mr. Milman's talents. Though he has never adequately fulfilled the promise of his *Fazio*, he has displayed great taste in his subsequent poems, especially in his last, now on our table. We are much indebted to him for reviving a most elegant species of composition, and still more for the admirable use he has made of it, as a means of illustrating holy writ, and as a vehicle for the purest and noblest sentiments. Without instituting an invidious comparison between him and the present Author, we must, however, explain our first remark, by giving it as our opinion, that in vigour, reach of thought, and a certain chasteness of colouring, as well as in the development of his leading characters, the present Author has, at this one giant stride, left him behind. On no subject are our opinions formed with more care, and our decisions given with more deliberation, than on that of poetry; yet, on none do we feel

less disposed to dogmatise; so indeterminate is the standard of taste, and so many chances are there of some accidental circumstance interfering to disturb the nicer operations of the judgment, so as to affect their correctness. But while we disclaim infallibility in these matters, we challenge the credit due to an anxious determination to be just; nor are we aware of a single instance in which the public has reversed our sentence. We have read this poem with more than ordinary gratification, and feel no hesitation in thus warmly commending the taste and ability which it displays. Nevertheless, our readers shall have fairly laid before them the evidence on which they may come to a decision for themselves.

The poem opens at the period at which Julian, having already renounced the faith of his household oppressors, and become an enthusiast in the delusions of pagan worship, is permitted to participate in the Eleusinian mysteries, when, it is asserted, he consented to the assassination of his Uncle, the Emperor Constantius. The scene is, the Cavern of Eleusis at night. Julian is alone.

‘ Oh, ye mysterious and invisible beings
That throng this palpable darkness, and do give
These tombs of earth awful vitality!
I hear the rushing of your sightless wings
Sweep, with an unimagined speed,
Around this mortal substance! Vault of darkness,
Thou gloomy mother of all hideous shadows,
Thy void is pregnant with a phantom life;
Thy vast receptacles are filled with breathings,
Cold expirations, that stir up my hair,
And cling to my damp forehead. Haply I stand
Within the portal of Eternity,
Amid death's heavy atmosphere,—environed
By th' incorporeal essence of past life,
And souls that wait their advent! Awful beings!
Impetuous and incessant travellers!
Swift couriers of two worlds! Connecting stream
'Twixt corruptible man and the pure gods!
Here I confront you—firm, yet not unmoved.
O ye inscrutable company, vast tide
Of spirits, in your mighty ebb and flow,
Here in the midst of you I stand, and shrink not!’

He is startled at hearing his name called by Maximus, the chief priest, who has approached him unnoticed. After a parley, in which the priest tries to excite and arm his pupil's mind for the purpose he contemplates, they enter together the interior of the Cavern.

* *Julian*. This silence, and these shadows, and cool air,
 Impress the heart with reverence. The calm
 Simplicity and the majestic repose
 Of these eternal chambers, at the root
 Of mortal habitation, that regard not
 Time, but exist as if time had no lapse,
 Do fill the mind with awe, and hold the senses
 More anchored in the placid calm of faith
 And unresisting fealty to Heaven,
 Than the more gorgeous fanes of upper air;
 The monumental temples and proud palaces,
 Where, on her throne of clay, sits militant
 Awful Religion.

* *Maximus*. Tread softly and with reverence. We are now
 Before a present Deity. These halls
 Are unprofaned with human workmanship:
 All that thou see'st—those fretted roofs high arching
 From their vast pillars, those broad coigns and friezes,
 And sculptured pomp grotesque, and marble floors,
 And roofs of pendulous chrystal;—these are all
 Nature's primeval architecture.

* *Julian*. Gods!
 How glorious are ye in your earthly dwelling!
 Here let me kneel!

* *Maximus*. Julian, dost thou believe
 The mystery of that world of spirits divine,
 The everlasting conclave, who sit throned
 In Heaven, and rule the air and earth and waters;
 Aye, and the penal caverns of deep Hell?
 The sublimated essences, whence man
 Takes his mixed character of good and evil:
 Imperfect 'midst perfection?

* *Julian*. Pray you, pardon me.
 My soul is like a steed in act to spring—
 Hot expectation swelling every vein,
 The course before him, and the goal in sight.
 This is no place to lecture points abstruse;
 I stand at gaze. Who shall withhold me?

* *Maximus*. Boy!
 Thy mettle shall be tried. Who slew thy father?
 Knock at thy heart and ask what Vengeance says.
 Is there no name stored in its inmost core—
 No execrated memory that smoulders,
 Like a pent flame, within thy seething brain?
 The book of fate lies open to thee.—Read.
 Thy glory and Heaven's will, vindictive dæmons
 Therein have graved in bloody characters!
 Ha! does the light beam on thee? Thou art busy

Now with ten thousand thronging thoughts, dim gliding
Before the glass of apt imagination.
Dost start?

The process by which Julian is conciliated to weigh the proposal which at first excites in his mind only horror and indignation, then led to concur in its necessity, and at length wrought up to a pitch of vindictive frenzy, is very skilfully managed. The Priest seizes the auspicious moment to put a scroll into his hand, which Julian eagerly signs, thereby authorizing the deed of murder.

Maximus. Now are the gods of Rome avenged! Constantius,
Thy hours are numbered—these few lines have slain thee.
Thou art arraigned and judged! Thy power gone by,
As a forgotten storm! Thou wert, and art not!

(Turning to Julian, who appears agitated.)

But how is this, my sovereign? Why dost thou look
So pallid, and thus gaze on vacant air?
Thy foot is in the flood—fear not to trust
Thy bark upon the mountain wave; 'twill bear thee,
With thy magnificent freightage, to fair shores
And happy harbours. Fear it not.

Julian. I fear!
It is a word unwritten in my heart!
But something—(a delusion of the brain)
Something hath shook me. As I signed just now,
A form of mild and melancholy beauty
Stood by my side, and frowned. When I had signed,
I looked—the place was void! I do believe
That shape my guardian spirit and good genius;
And that he hath passed from me!

Maximus. Pshaw! such dreams
Are all unworthy of thy manhood. Let us
Return from these deep vaults to the pure air.
The uncertain flicker of our torches gives
Abode to these vapours, and creates
Shadows like substances. We'll think not on them.
Now, champion of the gods, attend me. Now
Thou art worthy of the deep and awful rites
That veil our Eleusinian mysteries.
Knowledge and power—the future and the past
Are henceforth thine. One hour, and thou shalt quaff
Deep from the cup of immortality.

The succeeding scenes exhibit the progress of seditious discontents among the legionaries, occasioned by the rumour that Julian was about to be recalled, and that they were to be sent to recruit a distant and disgraced army, and 'make

' Acquaintance with the bears of Caucasus.'

At this juncture, arrive as legates from the Emperor, Jovian, a Prefect, Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, and Hormisdas, an exiled Persian Prince. They prove to be bearers of the obnoxious mandate, and are with difficulty rescued from the hands of the exasperated soldiery. The scene concludes with Julian's accepting the imperial dignity, conferred upon him by the acclamations of the army, to the consternation of the legates. The scene now changes, and introduces us to Constantia the Christian wife of Julian: she is sitting at her embroidery, in a chamber in the palace, attended by Virgilia and her other women, anxiously awaiting tidings of Julian. The wife of Constantius enters, her troubled aspect denoting that she has heard unwelcome tidings; but, ere she can fully explain them, Maximus enters from the camp, and salutes the wife of Julian as Empress. She receives the news of her husband's treason with dismay and grief; but in a few minutes another messenger announces the sudden death of Constantius at Tarsus. Constantia and Eusebia are borne off by attendants, and the scene closes with the arrival of Julian.

A considerable interval must now be imagined to have passed. The ensuing scene discovers Julian in the imperial chamber just before day-break.

Julian, alone.

' I cannot sleep! Ten thousand, thousand thoughts
Crowd in my restless bosom. Phantasy
At this lone hour invokes her spectral train,
Shadowy suggestions—incontrollable.
A fearful hope is busy here, and Memory
Sits like a pallid mourner at my side:
My heart is swollen with expectation,
I know not wherefore—a dull weight is there—
Sighing I heave it off, but it returns.
My eyes are dim with watching: a broad seal
Press'd on my brow by some invisible hand,
Scorches my brain. Oh, sleep! Oh, gentle sleep!
Would I might court thee on a peasant's pallet:
I have not slumbered since I wore a crown!

Constantia. (entering.) Julian, my husband!
The morning light has dawned. Where hast thou been?
These vigils will destroy thee.

Julian. Ay, my love,
The brain hath need of rest: the limbs are strong
In spite of many hardships; but the mind—
The mind should have repose. Constantia, wherefore
Is sleep an alien to these royal chambers?
I cannot find beneath this purple robe,
On all the down of the imperial pillow,

Even with thy form of beauty stretched beside me,
 One natural slumber : my eyes are ever open
 Upon the past and future. I am denied
 Oblivion. It was not so, Constantia.
 It was not so !

'Constantia. My Lord, forbear these thoughts.
 We have been happy, and again shall be so :
 You will redeem all yet.

'Julian. It cannot be.
 My subjects in revolt, my crown at stake,
 My glory questioned; the bright world of fame
 For which my very soul was bartered, all
 Trembling like foam upon the stormy waters !
 I have defied my God, and will not now
 Strike my proud banner to audacious man !

'Constantia. Julian, the empire of the earth is thine:
 What would you more ?

We have not room for the whole scene ; but must transcribe
 the close.

'Constantia. How cool and moist comes in this morning air !
 Nature awakens with a sigh, and tears
 Are on her beautiful countenance : a veil
 Of tender mist partially hangs around her,
 As if to hide some sorrow ere she smiles.
 Surely there is infection in these objects:
 Gazing, a tender pleasure steals upon me,
 Yet I could weep.

'Julian. All natural objects have
 An echo in the heart. This flesh does thrill,
 And has connexion by some unseen chain
 With its original source and kindred substance.
 The mighty forest, the proud tides of ocean,
 Sky-cleaving hills, and, in the vast of air,
 The starry constellations ; and the sun,
 Parent of life exhaustless—these maintain
 With the mysterious mind and breathing mould
 A co-existence and community.

'Constantia. Julian, in our first love you talked to me
 Thus, and I never feel the morning air,
 Or look upon the rising of the sun,
 Without some sweet associate emotion.
 Our early love was happy. Was it not ?

'Julian. Happy ? Oh, yes, most innocently happy !
 Sweet woman, thou hast always been so. Happy ?
 Would I had only studied thy sweet looks,
 Had sought divinity but on thy lips,
 Had asked no other empire but thy beauty—

But I have been beset by ravenous appetites ;
 Passions have preyed upon my heart and thriven ;
 The ladder of my wild ambition
 Hath yielded steps for evil thoughts to mount.
 Happy ?—even you have almost lost the charm,
 (And how I love thee, witness all ye powers
 Divine or fabled,) thou that wert once my all—
 I am a ruin. *(He walks apart abstractedly.)*

• *Constantia. (aside)* My unhappy Julian !
 Ah, what a wreck is that majestic mind !
 Thy very features are not what they were.
 Then were thy beauties shadows, and the light
 That cast them from thee,—is it all departed ?
(Julian throws himself upon a couch.)
 He sinks upon that couch,—oh, weary, weary !
 Last night he slept not: haply he may sleep
 Now and be soothed. Perhaps the breath of music
 May prove more eloquent than my poor words :
 It is the medicine of the breaking heart.

(Music plays : she approaches him.)
 His eyes are closed. Thou art indeed a ruin,
 But grand and glorious in thy desolation,
 Like a decaying temple. I would be
 The weed that gathers round thy broken pillars,
 The bird that nestles in thy lonely chambers,
 The pilgrim kneeling at thy shattered altar,
 The faithful light that shines with equal warmth
 On the deserted arch and festal palace.
 How pale he is, and yet how beautiful !
 I'll kiss him as he dreams. *(Music again and song.)*

‘What is Power ? ’Tis not the state
 Of proud tyrants, whom men’s hate
 To worse than death
 Can level with a breath—
 Whose term the meanest hand can antedate :
 The peasant with a heart at ease,
 Is a greater man than these.

‘What is grandeur ? Not the sheen
 Of silken robes ; no, nor the mien
 And haughty eye
 Of old nobility—
 The foolish thing that *is not*, but *has been*.
 The noblest trophies of mankind
 Are the conquests of the mind.

‘What is Beauty ? Not the shew
 Of shapely limbs and features. No.
 These are but flowers
 That have their dated hours
 To breathe their momentary sweets, then go.
 ’Tis the stainless soul within
 That outshines the fairest skin.

'What is Love? 'Tis not the kiss
Of a harlot lip—the bliss
That doth perish,
Even while we cherish
The fleeting charm: and what so fleet as this?
He is blessed in love alone,
Who loves for years, and loves but one.

'What is Glory? Not the breath
Of vain, venal crowds; nor death
Amid the cry
Of vaunting victory:
Nor on the living brow war's sanguine wreath.
He who maintains his country's laws,
Alone is great; or he who dies in the good cause.'

We need not under-write this song with any epithet: it is music. The slumber of Julian is interrupted by the entrance of the arch-fiend Maximus, who comes to denounce the Nazarenes as authors of a treasonable plot against his life, in connexion with the Persians. The list of conspirators includes the name of Mark, the venerable bishop and the friend of his infancy, and, as it should seem, that of the Empress herself. Julian credulously believes the whole malignant invention, and resolves on summary vengeance. A street scene in Constantinople prepares the reader for the execution of the sanguinary decree. In the succeeding one, Julian, on his throne, gives an audience to the Persian ambassadors, whom he dismisses with contumely, threatening to give his reply 'in blood and flames at Ctesiphon.' Bishop Mark is next brought in, and is treated by his former pupil with inflexible severity and contempt. He is shewn the paper containing his forged signature, and on denying it to be his, is charged by Maximus as a liar and traitor, and Julian, quitting the hall, leaves him to his fate.

The scene now changes to Antioch. Crowds of citizens are awaiting the procession of the army to the Temple of Mars. A Chorus of Priests is then introduced, followed by a speech from the Emperor, which is received with shouts by the populace. We are next hurried to the Mines under Perisabor, where some declamation takes place, descriptive of the horrors of a siege, very beautifully written, but not quite in place. Julian discovers some ill-timed tenderness of nature; and Maximus at length, snatching up the axe, strikes the base of the column which supports the roof of the mine. The rest of the scene is spectacle or fancy: the mine falls in, and the breach is won. Now to Ctesiphon, before which the Roman army lies. The dialogue is carried on with spirit by Nevitta, General of the Gauls, Anatolius, Hormisdas, and afterwards

Maximus : in the course of it, the wily Priest represents, on the authority of a Persian fugitive, that the enemy had secretly retired from Ctesiphon, which lay before them as

‘ A cheat, a sorry trap, a rifled coffer.’

In a soliloquy, he lets the reader into the secret of his treasonable collusion with the barbarian king, and the motive which has inspired it.

‘ Julian—no matter

Whether it be he needs me not—or whether,
Even in the full fruition of the crime,
Guilt fears his tempter ; or——why, what’s ’t to me ?
But, ever since I did that deed on Mark,
I have been shunned. Sapor, what sayest thou ?
“ He need not seek the favour of a king,
That may be king himself.” Subtle barbarian !
Yet was not this my aim : I sought but *power*,
Nor grasped I at the vanity of things.
I leant on Julian—with his growth I grew.
’Twas my best hope of rising. Now am I shorn
Of that which had contented me, and therefore
Again take counsel for advancement. Sapor—
Yes, I will lead this Julian to thy toils.
So, if he triumphs, I partake the glory,
And may resume my sway : but if he fails—
Oh ! if there’s faith in plots, or zeal in men
For their imagined interests—then, Julian,
The laurel that now wreaths thy warrior-brow,
Shall make pacific diadems for mine.’

A distant view of Ctesiphon in the next scene, indicates that Julian has fallen into the snare, and raised the siege, in idle pursuit of the supposed fugitives. Constantia enters, borne on a litter, the victim, by slow poison, of the infernal policy of Maximus. In an affecting conversation between her and Eusebia, the scenery of the Tigris is beautifully referred to, as ground consecrated by the earliest history, the cradle and tomb of nations ;

‘ the vast charnel

Of grandeur, yet without a monument.’

In the ensuing scene, Maximus meets, by night, the Persian general, Nohordates, and seals his treason by accepting a bribe. In the next, mutinous symptoms are exhibited by the soldiery, which are quelled by Julian’s striking down the ringleader, and firing the ships which lie at anchor on the Tigris. The death of Constantia follows : her last interview with Julian is exquisitely affecting. With her dying breath, she conjures him to repent, and he half relents under the influence of passionate af-

fection. The scene closes with a 'pious air' sung by a Chorus of Virgins, by no means destitute of beauty, though it has the not uncommon fault of poetical hymns, in being neither Christian nor Pagan. At that time of day, it was not customary, in odes to 'the dying Christian's soul,' to omit all reference to the Saviour. That absurdity was reserved for English poets. In the short and busy scenes which now bring on the catastrophe, are crowded many striking incidents and much spirited dialogue. A spring is found in the desert, to which the soldiers rush tumultuously, but are recalled by the voice of their Emperor, who, afterwards, when they have driven back the Persians, refuses to taste the water first. Such incidents, however, tell better in history than in dramatic poetry. The fatal morning arrives, the dawn of which is thus exquisitely painted.

'The sun will soon arise: yon dusky mountain
Lifts his great outline hard against the light.
There are no clouds; the air is crisp and jocund,
And rosy fingers now are shaking out
Aurora's golden hair.'

Great Julian has not slept, and strange tales are current in the camp; how that, at the dead of night, two voices within the imperial tent, were heard by the sentinel, although his master slept alone.

'Ay, and he says,
A figure wrapt in tomb-like vestments, passed
Shadowy across the portal, soundless and swift.'

Julian himself betrays a settled despondency, but the Roman spirit survives within him. Too late he suspects the traitor priest; but in the battle, having surprised him leading on a band of Persians, he devotes him to 'direful Nemesis.' Julian's superhuman feats in the conflict are detailed to the Persian king, who is enraged at his enemy's having, as he fears, escaped him.

'Wounded officer. I saw the great Apostate
Gallantly bearing up his fallen fortune
Through half the day.

'Sapor. Speak to the purpose, idiot!

'Wounded officer. I stood beneath a rock, a jutting rock,
That screen'd the plain on which his vanguard formed;
Thither he came, and that proud woman with him,
The Macedonian Queen, Eusebia,
Armed like Bellona. He was calm and solemn.
She too was pale—her white lips were compressed;
While her quick eyes glanc'd round, 'neath lowering brows,

Half vengeance, half despair. Just then they parted,
He sprang upon his horse.

* *Nohordates*. I marked the despot—
Even like an arrow on the wind, he rode
His winged courser, and with noble daring
Swept with his chivalrous escort past our front,
Even at the stormy edge of chafing battle.
Our arrows touched him not, his life was charmed!
Sudden he reined his horse up, raised his helmet,
And shouting thrice aloud, waved his bare hand.
A chosen troop rushed forward—then he turned
His charger round, and in short circle wheeling,
With a loud cry triumphantly rushed on us.

Meranes. He seemed a super-human presence, fraught
With an unearthly valour, demon phrensy!
A fiend was surely in his heart and arm;
Satanic majesty was in his eye.
The war-mist rolling round him; his keen sword
Flashed like hot lightning, bright and terrible—
He seemed as moving in a thunder-cloud.

* *Nohordates*. And that black horse—an hellish birth was he too.
I saw his gasping nostrils red with fire,
A foam of gore he tossed from his dark jaws,
In his reverted eyes blazed swarthy flames.
His proud hoofs, as they pawed the air, and struck
Sparks from the spurned earth, seemed shod in Hell
With penal steel.

* *Meranes*. 'Twas so—and his sad bearing,
When some good sword struck his crowned helmet off,
Did well become that thought. His teeth were clenched,
His cheeks were bloodless, and his hollow eyes
Dark with accumulated agony.
Yet were his features passionless—a calm
And terrible despair, a marble stillness,
As if some inward fire had charred his heart,
Looked out from him immoveable. Most awful!
Dread contrast with the tempest of that hour!

* *Sapor*. Why, this is well—though somewhat more of praise
Haply than he deserves. Yet does his fame
Augment our glory. Know ye no more?

* *Officer*. I saw him
Headlong on earth, rolled from his dying horse,
That foundered o'er a heap of carcasses.
He fell: just then a trooper suddenly
Reared his stout horse, half turned, and, backward leaning,
Thrust down his lance and pinned him to the ground.
I saw him rise against the mortal steel,
And wrench it in the wound, like a spent tiger;

Then, heaving on his knee, with backward stroke
Hamstring the horse ; that, with a plunge, fell prone.
Stunned by the fall, the rider lay all senseless ;
When Julian freed, plucked forth the shaft, and leaped
Upon his breast and stabbed him. Some few friends
Rushed to the rescue, and I saw no more.
Yet do I think that javelin's point was edged
With fate, and full of death.

' Sapor.

There's gold for thee ;
Thy tidings are the best. Now, forward, forward,
Storm their proud camp. I will not leave a Roman
To tell the tale.'

The last scene restores to us Julian. He is borne in bleeding and senseless, but revives after taking some water.

' Julian.

Eusebia !

Art thou here too ? Still greater than thy sex,
Thou com'st to view a sad and awful parting ;
The spirit that deemed half the world too small,
Torn from its lordly habitation,
Crushed in its vigour, hurled from its high throne,
Cast naked on eternity—to stand
With common souls before the judgement-seat !

(*A distant shout heard. Julian starts on his feet.*)

Where am I ? Bind me on my horse ! to arms !
Slaves ! shall I die upon a couch ? A myriad
Of agonising thoughts throng in my brain.
Oh, for a bloody bank, a broken sword,
And banners drooping over me ! Oh, vengeance,
Some vengeance yet ! To horse ! I say, upon them !
I tell ye I am strong. A lightning rushes
Through my hot veins would swell a thousand pulses.

(*Sinks down exhausted.*)

Ha, ha, ha, ha ! Look on these traitor limbs ;
Oh hear this braggard voice ! Nevitta, thou
Hast seen this clod of earth true to its spirit ?
I've not been a vain boaster always.

' Nevitta.

Emperor,

I've swam the gulfy Rhine with thee at midnight,
Beneath a canopy of fiery darts :
I've plunged with thee into the tide of men
When every living wave was swoln with fate ;
Yet never shrank before—'tis terrible.

(*Julian leans forward with a fixed look.*)

' Julian.

How many of ye stand around me ? late
I saw but three.

' Eusebia.

There are no more : Nevitta,
Hormisdas, and myself.

' Julian.

There is a fourth ;

Look—don't you see him? shadowy—look—there, there—
 He comes to me. Thou supernatural shape!
 Vast, gloomy, silent, undefinable!
 I saw thee at Eleusis. Thou didst look
 Last night upon my troubled sleep: I heard
 Thy rustling folds departing. Still and dark
 Is the dread meaning of thine awful eye!
 Art thou the Spirit of Judgement, that doth write
 Man's doom upon the adamantine book?
 Or, with thy basilisk presence, dost thou come,
 Wrath-executing Minister! to watch
 Lost souls just flitting from the gates of life?
 Speak to me—speak to me!

(*He sinks back in a stupor.*)

* *Necitta.*

His senses wander.

It is most awful. Saw you aught, my Lord?

* *Hormisdas.* No, nothing: yet methinks a rustling passed us,
 A swift division of the air—a sound,
 As of departing wings.

* *Julian.* (*recovering.*) Eusebia!

Thou art the last tie that I have on earth:

I would look on thee once again—thy features

Remind me of past happiness: no matter;

I fashioned my own fortunes. Turn me—so.

Turn me upon my side: 'tis well; I'm easier.

The blood flows freely now; my pains are deadened.

Come near. I'm somewhat numbed, and heavy, heavy—

Cold, very cold, and dark, Eusebia!

Give me some air—breath, breath—some air, some air.

Bear me—where I—can see—the sun.—

(*They bring Julian forward: he fixes his eye upward.*)

"Oh, Galilean! Thou hast conquered me!"

(*He sinks through their arms and expires.*)

Nothing, we think, could be much finer than this close of the poem, to which the well-known apostrophe of the dying Apostate adds surprising effect. But we really deem it superfluous to comment on the grace, and beauty, and poetical spirit which are so conspicuous in the extracts we have given. On the faults of the poem we are still less in a temper to dwell. If we must speak of them,—we think Julian is made, we will not say too amiable a person merely, (although, maugre the venerable authority of Speed, less of the Titus, and more of the Trajan character, would have better comported with his actions,) but too tender, artless, and almost boyish: too little of the zealot is blended with his character, to identify the Apostate. The poet is not bound, indeed, to copy his portrait from the historian; and if he is but consistent with himself, it can-

not be fairly made an objection, that he departs from the strict accuracy of fact. But still, the very designation of the hero in the title-page, the enthusiasm he displays in the opening of the poem, and the circumstances in which he is exhibited as the restorer of the old idolatry, putting aside historical fact, would seem to require that greater prominence should have been given to that darker part of his character. As it is, the last line of the poem, striking as is the effect produced by it,—for we instantly refer it to his real character,—would scarcely be intelligible but for the history: the poem does not prepare us for it.

We have no quarrel with the Author for his non-observance of the unities. Poets were born before critics, and are themselves the authors of the laws which these their judges expound and administer. Shakspeare is a higher authority than Aristotle. But neither rules on the one hand, nor precedents on the other, can decide a point of taste. The substantial objections to a violent departure from the unities of time and place, appear to be these: First, that they take away from the probability of the story, recalling the reader's attention continually to the tricks and artifices of invention, and betraying the imperfection of the art. Next, that they occasion too frequent a demand on the reader's memory, or fancy, or whatever other faculty is necessarily exercised in supplying the hiatus, which, for want of a chorus furnishing due information on the subject, has to be filled up by *supposing*. A reader has no objection to dismount and walk, while Pegasus breathes himself, now and then, but he does not like to perform half the journey on foot. The real use of the division of a poem into books or acts, is to allow of regular intervals, of which the Poet may make the best use he can, to shift his scenes and arrange afresh his persons and circumstances. But to suppose weeks or months to have elapsed between ensuing scenes, is perplexing to the mind: it requires an unpleasing effort, and therefore it is contrary to true taste. Lastly, whatever seems to betray in the Poet, a deficiency of skill in the arrangement of his materials, a sterility of resources, or a defect of judgement in the choice of his subject,—and one of these is generally involved in any violent departures from probability,—must necessarily detract from the pleasure inspired by the composition. To try "*Julian*" by these rules. We have already hinted, that the scene at Perisabor is somewhat objectionable on account of the rapid and abrupt transition which is made from Antioch to Perisabor, and thence to Ctesiphon. If the Author thought, by breaking the journey to the banks of the Tigris, to make the transition easier, he erred. Distances, in poetry, are not computable by me-

ridians or parallels. But his object probably was, to introduce an incident, which, as requiring a detached scene, connected at neither end with the adjacent context, was hardly worth being interpolated. Up to this part of the poem, we find no fault with the consecutiveness of the scenes. At pages 65 and 110, we have long intervals supposed, but they are natural pauses in the action. The remainder must be considered as one Act, though broken by transitions. None of these, however, with the exception already made, exceed the just bounds of poetical license, if we allow the Poet to transport us at once from Antioch to Ctesiphon. The Author will perceive that we do not wish to tie him down very rigidly to the canons of criticism. So far as they ensure a pleasing effect, they are deserving of attention, and cannot be slighted with impunity. Beyond this, all is hypercriticism and pedantry.

We have noticed some few imperfect lines, which we leave other critics who may come after us, to detect; but we are led to specify one instance, because it savours a little of affectation,—a vice from which the correct taste of the Author has kept him, for the most part, exemplarily free. ‘Lordly ha-bi-ta-ti-on,’ is, in one place, promoted to the dignity of a pentasyllabic substantive, and endowed with full half of a line in order to support its rank. In another place, ‘wild ambi-ti-on,’ is suffered to over-run its natural bounds in a similar manner. If Cowley and Spenser are seductive precedents for such liberties on the one hand, Sternhold and Hopkins might have more than a counteractive force on the other, as warning off against so perilous an approximation to their peculiar and inimitable rhythm.

It would be unjust not to notice the moral purity by which the poem is so honourably distinguished. In the hands of many of the Author’s contemporaries, Julian would not have been made a hero, but at the expense of the religion from which he apostatized. It is impossible to write the Author’s name at full length, (and we wish him well rid of the plebeian monosyllable which seems tied on to the euphonous and poet-like name of De Vere, even at the expense of an Act of Parliament,) it is impossible to utter that already thrice celebrated name, without being reminded of the recent attempts to exalt paganism, ‘the religion of the loves and the luxuries,’ in comparison with the religion of the Bible. Sir Aubrey apologizes for not having commenced his development of Julian’s character at an earlier period; ‘for I have not dared,’ he says, ‘to detail in language the progress of impiety, or to array the arguments that seduced a Christian from his God.’ The explanation does equal credit to his judgement and his principles. ‘That I have failed,’

verted; but it certainly was far from our intention to give any he adds, 'in accomplishing my own ideas, is a fact I cannot hide from myself; but the present is a first effort, and may, I would hope, lead to better things.' It is, indeed, a brilliant promise; or rather, our Poet's mind, like some tropical trees, seems to put forth blossoms and fruit at once.

Art. III. 1. *The Life of William Penn*, abridged and adapted to the Use of Young Persons. By Mary Hughes (late Robson). f. cap. 8vo. pp. 192. Price 4s. 6d. London, 1822.

2. *A Letter to a Junior Member of the Society of Friends*; occasioned by his Address to Young Men and Women of the same Society. 12mo. pp. 24. Woodbridge, 1820.

WE avail ourselves of these two small publications, for the purpose of offering a few remarks on the general subject of Quaker Orthodoxy, to which we adverted in our article on Mr. Barton's Poems, having been given to understand that our remarks on that occasion have been somewhat misinterpreted.

Little will be required to be said of the former publication. An analysis of Mr. Clarkson's unreadable memoirs of that great and good man, was given in the Old Series of this Journal;* and to that paper we may refer our readers for our views of Penn's extraordinary character. This abridged narrative comprises the substance of those memoirs; and as it appears to be very respectably executed, it will, we doubt not, be generally acceptable. Penn's Letter to his Wife and Children is worth half the money.

The Tract, we understand to be from the pen of Mr. Bernard Barton. Although it must be considered as speaking the sentiments only of an individual, it contains an expression of views and feelings which we believe to be characteristic of the best portion of the religious Society of which he is an ornament. In the general tenor of the advice he offers, we fully concur; and we shall in the sequel avail ourselves of several of the Writer's very intelligent remarks.

In expressing our satisfaction with Mr. Barton's poems on religious subjects, we took occasion to notice the explicit manner in which he refers to those doctrines of the Christian system, respecting which the tenets of Quakerism have been suspected to lean towards heterodoxy. It was this remark which, we understand, gave pain to some of our readers, as seeming to intimate a persuasion that such a suspicion was not ill-founded. The fact we presume to be unquestionable, that a very general impression exists of the kind to which we ad-

* Vol. X. p. 497.

opinion as to how far it is a correct impression. In truth, we found ourselves (and we are still in nearly the same predicament) in want of the requisite information to enable us to pronounce on the present state of religious sentiment among the Quaker body. The writings of Barclay and of Penn, and the eulogistical 'portraiture' drawn by Clarkson, acquaint us, to a certain extent, with what Quakerism is as a system; but the actual opinions of a religious body are not to be judged of by the controversial writings of two centuries back. The "Apolo-
gy" is, we suspect, little read by Friends themselves; and few of their number, we imagine, would choose to pledge themselves to all the sentiments of Fox, or even of Barclay and Penn. The Yearly Epistles, the only accredited documents of a public nature, the "Book of Extracts," and Tuke's "Principles," must be considered, however, as forming the modern standard of Quaker Theology. But publications of this description differ materially from the spontaneous writings of individuals, which best indicate the existing state and prevailing tone of public opinion and feeling, exhibiting the professed belief of the body, as it were, in actual operation. The fact is, that the Society have most studiously repressed and discountenanced, under a terror of intestine controversy, all doctrinal discussions. In this, they may have acted wisely; but it has had the effect of leaving the real sentiments of Friends in some obscurity.

It is, perhaps, needless to say, that the doctrine of the Atonement is that to which we chiefly refer, as a point on which a leaning to heterodoxy is supposed to exist. The Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1819 recognises the attempts which had been recently made to stir this question, in the advice which it contains, 'not to read publications which openly or indirectly inculcate a disbelief in the benefits procured to us by the sufferings and death of Christ, in the divinity of him our Lord and Saviour, or in the perceptible guidance of his Spirit.' This advice must at the same time be considered as a decisive, though somewhat indirect avowal of the faith of the Society on those great articles; and it at once disproves the calumny which would impute to them as a body, a creed bordering on Socinianism. Modern Unitarianism would, indeed, fain bring within its catholic embrace, Jews, Mahommedans, and Quakers, as all belonging to the true Unitarian visible Church, Pagans and Trinitarians only being excluded. But even though it could be made to appear that the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by other denominations of Protestants, is not in terms received by the followers of Barclay and Penn, it could be only a despicable quibble that should, on that pretence, class them, under the equivocal name of Unitarians,

with the impugnors of the divinity of Christ and the influences of the Holy Spirit. Penn's early works are known to contain some free and rather flippant remarks on the orthodox creed, which subjected him to a seven months' imprisonment. This was not the way to wean him from his opinions; but he appears to have been afterwards aware that he had expressed himself unguardedly, and afforded a handle to his enemies. Nothing can be more crude than his theological sentiments, as displayed in his "*Sandy Foundation shaken*." The unguarded statements of orthodox writers appear to have had an unfavourable and undue influence on his mind; and all his shew of argument rests on the misapprehensions which these statements had led him to entertain respecting the doctrines he attempts to invalidate. Similar misapprehensions and prejudices, we make no doubt, continue to operate on the minds of his followers: they shew themselves in a morbid dislike of what may be described as a high Athanasian phraseology on the subjects in question. The word *Trinity* is specifically objected to; not, however, by Quakers only, but by many devout persons of other communions, as of merely human invention; and certain phrases are considered by them as exceptionable, which Christians in general scruple not to employ. But still, between the creed of Quakerism, and that of modern Unitarians, the discrepancy is infinite. The distinguishing tenet of the former, namely, *the perceptible influences of the Holy Spirit*, involves in it a practical belief as far removed from the no-creed of the Socinian, as light from darkness. It implies a view of the condition of human nature, of the scheme of redemption, and the means of recovery, totally at variance with the Unitarian theology; and when coupled with an avowal of belief in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and in the benefits procured by his death, seems to include every essential part of the Christian system. The man who believes this with his heart, believes all that the Scripture requires him to believe in order to salvation. He may not express himself on the subject of the Trinity, the personality of the Spirit, and other points of confessed importance, in our language; but he holds the Head; he belongs to the true circumcision, "who worship God in the Spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." The consistent Quaker believes that, in order to be saved, a man must be born again. And can it be a question with a pious person, which of the two is, in the best sense, the most orthodox, the man who will wrangle and dogmatise for the Athanasian Creed, and Baptismal regeneration; or he who can go no further in his avowal of belief, than what is called the Apostles' Creed, and believes in the necessity of Regeneration, yet without Baptism? The consistent Quaker

is a devout man, a man of prayer. In this respect he is most truly orthodox; orthodox on a point far more important than any on which he can possibly differ from Christians of other denominations. By this, too, he is essentially distinguished from the Unitarian on the one hand, and scarcely less so, on the other, from the self-sufficient man of creeds and articles, who resolves a practical belief in Divine influences into enthusiasm.

But lest, in this representation of the Quaker doctrine, we should be thought to be proceeding upon mere assumption, we shall here transcribe, for the gratification of our readers, a few paragraphs from an admirable Tract by one of the most distinguished of their ministers.

‘As “God is a spirit,” and the soul of man is of a spiritual nature, so, the intercourse between God and man must be spiritual. By carefully observing what passes in our own minds, we may clearly perceive within ourselves two opposite natures, one tending to good, the other to evil. The distress of mind which we feel after having followed the suggestions of the latter, as well as the peace and satisfaction we experience in yielding to the former, are the operation of the Spirit of Christ. As this Heavenly Director is obeyed and followed; as we endeavour with all our might to refrain from what it condemns, and pray for assistance to accomplish what it points out, it will enable us by degrees to overcome the evil propensities of our nature; it will purify our hearts, and prepare us for a degree of union with the Supreme Being. By the gradual operation of this Divine power, our very affections and dispositions will be changed; we shall then understand what was meant by that declaration of our Lord, “Ye must be born again.” Here the relish for sin will be in great measure taken away; we shall be released from its bondage, and introduced to the glorious liberty of the children of God. But before this happy state can be experienced, we shall have many severe struggles to encounter with the evil and corruption of our hearts, and shall find that our rational faculties alone are utterly unequal to the conflict. If, however, we cleave firmly to that measure and manifestation of the Spirit or grace of God which is given to every man to profit withal, (1 Cor. xii. 7) we shall experience help from him who is omnipotent, and in his strength become “more than conquerors.”

‘As man, in his natural and fallen state, is prone to evil, and can only be redeemed from it by the operation of the Spirit of Christ, so there are two great classes or states, distinguished in the Holy Scriptures by the terms carnal and spiritual. Each of these states has its distinguishing marks. The rule for ascertaining the members of each, was laid down by our Lord himself, when he said, “Every tree is known by its own fruits.”

‘These are the marks by which the members of the carnal state may be known. Their supreme delight seems to be in the objects of sense; they are pleasing and gratifying themselves solely with the material world, and idolizing the powers and faculties which they possess as

rational creatures; they refuse to believe in what cannot be made plain to their natural capacities, and, in the pride of their hearts, even sit in judgment upon the operations of Infinite Wisdom. The carnally-minded are busy in doing their own wills; and despising the lowly appearance of the Spirit of Christ, as inwardly manifested, they are in a great measure left to themselves; their foolish hearts become darkened; and they have no more conception of the things which belong to the spiritual kingdom, than a man born blind has of colours. They become estranged from the source of love, then hardened, and some at length persecutors. They are servants of a power which has always been opposed to the happiness of man; and being out of the Divine harmony which reigns among the subjects of the spiritual kingdom, they produce confusion and misery throughout the creation of God.

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‘ Our natural faculties, however noble and excellent, cannot of themselves lead us to God. They may enable us to provide for our bodily wants, and to prosecute researches in the material world. They may convince us, that the whole creation is the work of a Being infinite in wisdom and power, and that every contingency in the operations of nature was foreseen and exactly provided for with the most consummate skill; that before this creative and sustaining Power, the most intelligent among the sons of men shrinks into absolute insignificance. Reason, enlightened by that knowledge of Divine wisdom which we have gained from the sacred volume, may teach us all this; but reason can never of itself bring us to the saving knowledge of God..... The things of a man may be known by the spirit of man; but, as the great apostle asserts, the things of God are known only by the Spirit of God. Finite cannot comprehend infinite; and in the ways of Providence, there are mysteries which no human reason can solve. In this state of being, we have not all the data respecting them which are necessary to the forming of a just judgment; and if our evidence be deficient, the conclusion upon such premises may be erroneous, even if the reasoning were ever so perfect. The fact is, that the powers of man were so adapted to his situation, that, for the ordinary purposes of this life, a distinct revelation was not rendered necessary: the Supreme Being does nothing in vain. Thus, in the inspired writings, every thing is accommodated to the state of knowledge of the age in which they were written. We find there, no revelation with respect to the arts and sciences, no indication of that beautiful system of the universe which has since been discovered. These were within the range of the natural faculties of man, and the knowledge of them was by no means essential to his salvation. But these precious volumes teach us what human reason could never know, unless aided and enlightened from above. They point out, that He who made man, has condescended to impart to him of his grace and good Spirit; that if this be adhered to and followed, it will lead into truth, and out of error and evil; that it will change the affections, purify the heart, and being the Spirit of Christ, the Mediator, will produce an union and communion with God.

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“Without faith in the inward revelation of the Spirit of God, it is impossible savingly to understand the written revelation as contained in the Holy Scriptures. A wicked man might learn to repeat them from beginning to end, and still remain as corrupt as ever. They are only to be thus understood by a measure of that Spirit by which they were dictated; only by coming to Christ, who said to the unbelieving Jews, “Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life.”” *

In these truly excellent remarks, we are not aware of a position,—scarcely of an expression to which any orthodox Churchman or Dissenter could object. We will not vouch for every phrase or sentiment in the pamphlet; but as to the above statement of doctrine, if this be the ‘immediate revelation,’ the ‘light within,’ which our Quaker brethren contend for, we are ready to profess our entire concurrence with them. It is in accordance with the familiar doctrine of evangelical pulpits. And that no sentiment tending to the depreciation of the Holy Scriptures, is now held in connexion with this belief in the necessity of Divine teaching, by the Quakers as a body, we are warranted and bound to believe, by the zeal they have conspicuously displayed in promoting the formation of Bible Societies. This fact, if universal, were sufficient to wipe off the imputation of an anti-scriptural enthusiasm derogatory to the inspired Rule of Faith.† Whether their sentiments as a

* “Brief Remarks upon the Carnal and Spiritual State of Man,” &c. By William Allen. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1817.

† It is not a little amusing to see, in the history of controversies, how arguments, like weapons, sometimes change owners, and are made to serve, at different times, opposite purposes. Thus Hooker contends, in opposition to his Puritan adversary, for the efficiency of the Scriptures as read, terming the simple reading a species of preaching. The High Church opponents of the Bible Society take just the opposite ground, maintaining the inefficiency of the Scriptures as read, without comment or priestly instruction. Penn denied the Scriptures to be an adequate or ultimate Rule of Faith, claiming that designation for the light or spirit of Christ; and Barclay actually employs as an argument, the various readings of MSS., the errors of transcribers, and other sources of difficulty to Biblical critics. This weak and wretched argument, abandoned by the Quakers, has been caught up by the abettors of the Claims of the Church of England as an authorized interpreter and judge in controversies; and while those who have been convinced of its fallacy, are now foremost in distributing that Rule of Faith which contains the mind of the Spirit, the ministers of that Church which formerly condemned their error, have adopted it as their own, and are opposing the unreserved dis-

body may not in this respect have undergone some change, since the days of Keith, and Barclay, and Penn, we are not concerned to inquire. If there were extravagance and error then, on the one side, there were both error and bigotry on the other. On comparing the "Apology" with the Confutations of the day, it is, we think, inevitable to feel, that under the mystic phraseology which he employs, of a 'universal light' distinct from conscience, the 'seed, grace, or word,' the 'Christ within,' '*vehiculum Dei*,' defined to be 'a real spiritual substance in which God as Father, Son, and Spirit dwells,' the Quaker is after all contending for a Scripture doctrine, notwithstanding the confusion and error which his speculations as to the *mode* of Divine influences, mingle with that doctrine; while the champion of orthodoxy, in his zeal to destroy 'one of the vilest and most pernicious heresies that our unhappy nation has ever been infected with,' and to counteract the 'enthusiastic freaks' and 'numberless mischiefs' of that 'abominable sect,'* as the Quakers are termed, is led to explain away the Scripture doctrine of Divine Influences altogether. Certainly, the tampering with Scripture, which we find employed in order to disprove the Quaker doctrine, especially on the subject of the Inward Witness of the Spirit, is quite as gross and as pernicious as any which can be charged upon the learned "Apologist."† The doctrine which the Quaker distorted, it was too much the practice of the orthodox of that day, to rationalize into nothing, and in effect to deny. And upon this point, were Quakerism vulnerable on no other, much as we dislike the phraseology and some of the positions to be found in the writings of its advocates, we should deem it more safe to err with them, than with their opponents.

But it is on the subject of Justification, that the Quaker doctrine is the most open to objection. It will, perhaps, have been observed, that, amid the admirable remarks transcribed from Mr. Allen, there occurs no specific reference to the guilt involved in man's fallen state, or to the necessity of his obtaining, besides and previously to his moral restoration, pardon and reconciliation with his offended Maker. The only distinct reference of the kind, is a somewhat unconnected remark in the first paragraph, which we noticed with great pleasure.

"Under the Jewish dispensation, trespasses and crimes were ex-

tribution of that sufficient Rule of Faith, by our Bible Societies, as tending to the subversion of their Church.

* See Bennet's "Confutation of Quakerism." 8vo. 1709. Pref.

† V. Ibid. pp. 70, et seq.

piated by sacrifices and other external rites and observances: these were typical of the great atonement which should afterwards be made by Christ Jesus, the Son and Sent of the Father, on the introduction of his more glorious and perfect dispensation. But none will receive the full benefit of this atonement, except those who become reconciled to the Father through the blessed effects of the mediation of his beloved Son.*

There is nothing to object to in this statement; but the turn of expression, and the manner in which the sentence is introduced, seem to us to indicate that the subject is somewhat alien from the Quaker theology. We should be extremely sorry to misrepresent the Writer or his friends on this point; but we are much mistaken if such language as we find employed in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, or in the sixth of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, is in familiar use among the ministers of their Society. The guilt of sin, the wrath of God and of the Lamb, the "terrors of the Lord," the price of our ransom, the making of him who knew no sin, a sin-offering for us, the being justified by the blood of Christ, and so being saved from wrath through him—these are topics on which, we apprehend, it is very rarely the custom of Friends to insist,—on which their notions are the most indistinct and tinctured with prejudice. The following is the singular language of Barclay: 'As for the satisfaction of Christ *without us*,' (external to us) 'we own it against the Socinians, and that it was full and complete in its kind; yet not so as to exclude the real worth of the work and sufferings of Christ in us, nor his present intercession.'† This is language at once mystical and erroneous; but, in his "Apology," he speaks more intelligibly and more scripturally. 'We firmly believe, it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer himself a sacrifice to God for our sins.' And, 'We believe, that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by the virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and not otherwise.‡ It is plain, however, from other passages, that respecting the doctrine of Justification by Faith, the tenets of Quakerism have always been less conformable than on any other point of doctrine, to the creed of the Reformed Churches.

Here, too, we feel it but just to make some concession; and, as we admitted in reference to the Unitarian controversy,† so, in the present reference, we freely own, that the exceptionable or unguarded statements of orthodox writers have been, if not in part the occasion of the opposite error, yet, a fruitful source of

* "Quakerism confirmed." Sect. iv. p. 628. † "Apology." p. 335.

‡ E. R. for April, 1822. Art. *Unitarian Sermons*. p. 341.

inveterate prejudice. We find Penn objecting to the representation of Christ's death as a purchase of salvation on behalf of his people. Now, no other idea is meant to be conveyed by this language, than is expressed by the terms, *propitiation, sacrifice, satisfaction, ransom, atonement*, which we find Quakers themselves using, though sparingly, and even Socinians, though they attempt to explain them away, forced to employ. But, under any gloss or interpretation, such terms as these must mean, that the remission of sins is by virtue of the redeeming, satisfying, or expiatory sacrifice of Christ. We do not concede any thing, therefore, to the objection of the Socinian against the doctrine, when we express dissatisfaction with the language in which that doctrine has sometimes been stated, as if the interposition of the Son of God rendered the Father placable,—as if it were the cause, instead of being the effect of the Divine placability and compassion. The word *purchase*, as we had occasion to remark, is used in Scripture in reference, not to the blessings procured for us by Christ as mediator, which are “the gift of God,” but to the Church itself as bought, that is ransomed, with his blood. Much evil has arisen from over-straining figurative expressions. Because a purchase and a purchaser are spoken of, some persons have seemed to imagine that there must be a party to receive the price. But, in the case of a ransom, which is the proper idea, the person who exacts or receives payment, is the master of the slave, the owner of the captive. He by whom the sinner is held in bondage, is said in Scripture to be Satan; so that, with reverence be it spoken, it would be of him, that the figure, if pursued, would represent our Lord as having purchased his people; to him, in that case it must be said, he paid the price. It will be obvious that we only put it thus, to shew the gross impropriety of wresting the figurative phraseology of Scripture from its natural purpose of simple illustration. Figures are not propositions. Let us always guard against being misunderstood, as though we entertained any other belief than that, in wrath against sin, as in compassion towards the guilty, and in a purpose to save, Christ and the Father are one.

There is a party in the Established Church, by whom, as our readers are well aware, the Quaker notions respecting the Sacraments would be deemed a far more pernicious heresy than any errors respecting the Rule of Faith or the means of Justification. Into this subject, however, we have no occasion to enter. Though we think Friends wrong on this point, particularly as regards the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and cannot help suspecting that their neglect of this ordinance, as it had its rise in error, has tended to perpetuate error in their

creed,—still, the dreadful abuse of the Sacraments by both Papists and Protestants, accounts for, if it does not excuse, their running into the opposite extreme; an extreme which we cannot but consider as by far the less dangerous, and in no wise implicating the conscientious dissident in heresy or disobedience.

Our readers will now understand why we expressed ourselves as we did respecting Mr. Barton's poetry, as characterized by an unusual explicitness on the subject of Redemption. The 'Christmas Carol' to which we referred, begins thus:

' Jesu Hominum Salvator !

Thou who cam'st on earth below,
Taking on thee mortal nature,
Life immortal to bestow :—

' Thou, who diedst for man's transgression,
Thou, who reignest now above;
Still art heard in intercession,
Still art known by acts of love !

' Fain would I, with rev'rent feeling,
Owe my hopes to Thee alone;
To thy Sacrifice appealing,
Cast each crown before thy throne.'

Of the light in which such compositions as this, or such sentiments as those expressed by Mr. Allen, are regarded by the Society at large, we have no means of judging; but they at least shew what Quakerism is capable of producing, and how much vitality it retains. Such individual instances, taken in connexion with the exertions of the Body in the circulation of the Scriptures,—which we have ventured to characterise as a signal and honourable concession, on the part of the Society, to the fundamental doctrine of Protestantism, the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith,—connected, too, with recent indications of a rising Missionary zeal,* do seem to warrant the hope, that the doctrinal differences and schismatical prejudices which have too long estranged and divided this estimable community from the rest of the Christian world, are beginning to give way before the all-harmonizing influence of Christian principles.

Such is the hope and such the feelings which a personal acquaintance with many estimable and pious individuals of that denomination has led us to cherish. We are aware that, in some quarters, an opposite opinion prevails; that the spread of liberal sentiments among the Quaker body, has been attended with

* See Eclectic Review for May. Art. *Quaker Mission to the Jaloofs*.

a deterioration of religious character and abandonment of an orthodox doctrine; that Deism and Socinianism, though not ostensibly avowed, have spread widely in secret among its members. We know not how a general opinion like this can either be established or disproved, except by extensive inquiries which we have no means of prosecuting. We believe it to be a hasty induction from partial facts. But we shall now proceed to notice some of the circumstances which appear to us to account for such an impression, and which, so far as it originates in correct observation, account for the fact; premising, that the religious declension of individuals ought, in justice, to be kept quite distinct from the acknowledged faith of the Society, which we believe was never more conformable to the Scripture standard than of late years.

In the first place, then, it cannot be denied, that, little as the pious Quaker has in common with the Unitarian, *some of his objections to the evangelical phraseology appear to be of a Socinian complexion.* It was on this account that Barclay found it necessary to disclaim an accordance with Socinus on the doctrine of the Atonement; which he does, however, in such terms as shew that he differed from the orthodox. We are very far from believing the Quakers to have become more Socinianized on this point; but we submit, whether a facility is not created, of sliding into Socinianism, by keeping so much out of sight as we fear is general among them, the great doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction. The divinity and mediatorial character of our Lord, we have seen to be expressly recognised as a fundamental tenet of the Body; and his death and sufferings are spoken of as the procuring cause of the benefits which the Gospel announces, and the Spirit confers. We have no wish that the Quaker should adopt the Shibboleth of any other party; but let him suspect the purity of his creed, and the simplicity of his reliance on Divine teaching, if he finds within himself a reluctance to admit and adopt *any* of the representations or phraseology of the Holy Scriptures. The Gospel announces a twofold remedy for a twofold calamity—guilt and moral apostacy: it proclaims pardon and reconciliation through faith in the blood of the redeeming sacrifice, and promises restoration by the influences of the Spirit as the fruit of having become reconciled through that faith. The losing sight of either part of our salvation, must involve us in perilous heresy.

Another circumstance which may account for the opinion alluded to, is, *the known sentiments of certain prominent members of their Body.* It so happens, that several individuals, whose wealth, or station in society, or benevolent activity, have brought them more into public notice, have been Quakers by

education and profession, but not in creed ; and in some cases, after their religious connexion with the Society had ceased, they have continued to adhere to the garb and peculiar dialect of Quakerism. It is obvious how naturally such instances would operate to produce an impression unfavourable to the religious character of the Society, in the absence of other means of information. Although, in fact, they afford no criterion of the state of sentiment within the community, they are taken for genuine indications of the tendency of the system.

But still more, perhaps, *the secessions which have taken place from the Society*, have tended to confirm this opinion. We speak not of those palpable cases of dereliction of principle to which all communities are subject, or the changes which convenience has obviously had a greater share in producing than conviction ; but of the secession of pious and respectable individuals educated in the principles of Quakerism, who have joined the Church of England. For it is not a little remarkable, that, in every instance which occurs to our recollection, such persons have passed at once into the Establishment. So extreme and violent a transition seems to require, as the only satisfactory explanation, that we should refer it to a fundamental and total change of religious opinions. Hence, the doctrinal difference between Quakerism and the creed of the Church of England, is naturally supposed to be extreme, since the alternative of the Athanasian Creed is preferred to continuing a member of the sectarian body. And the heterodoxy of that body is likely enough to be urged as the reason for the individual's change of sentiment. And the pre-eminent orthodoxy of the Church of England must be viewed, in that case, as the great inducement for the preference given to a system of worship and church-government precisely the opposite of every tenet of Quakerism ; when other denominations of Christians, differing far less in those respects from the sentiments and practice of Friends, were to be passed by, or leaped over, in the transition. If a wish to escape from the reproach of sectarianism, if the gentility and other secular attractions of an Establishment, have not been the real inducements to the step, it seems difficult to account for so complete a metamorphosis, on any other supposition than that the forms and creeds of the Church are taken up and submitted to for the sake of the truths taught from her pulpits. Yet, it does seem strange, that when other orthodox denominations of Dissenters present to the pious Quaker, dissatisfied with silent worship or with any other peculiarities of his Society, so much nearer an approximation to his own principles, in the simplicity of their worship, the primitive laws of their association, their attachment to religious liberty, their views of the

Christian ministry, and their theological opinions on the subject of Divine teaching,—it is not a little strange, that Socinianism on the one hand, or Church of Englandism on the other, should seem to be the only points in the scale of religious opinion, towards which Quakerism discovers any affinity. What would be thought of a Protestant Dissenter, who, convinced of the sin of schism, should embrace the Romish faith with all its corruptions, passing by the Church of England itself as schismatical? And yet, the transition would not be more extreme than the one to which we have adverted: it would only be describing a semi-circuit from the antipodes. Let us not be misunderstood as speaking this from any regard to a party. If the respectable individuals who have deserted the Society for the Establishment, shall but carry with them into their new connexions, an attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which their ancestors have handed down as their best earthly inheritance,—principles of which those excellent men were the illustrious assertors and defenders, at the peril, if not the loss of all things,—these seceders from the ranks of sectarianism will be of more service to their old friends, and perhaps to society at large, than if they had continued in the bosom of that community which nourished their minds, and formed their characters.

We shall advert to only one more cause, which we think has operated both to countenance an opinion unfavourable to the Society, and to afford real ground for it: and that is, *the want or neglect of the means of religious instruction, arising out of the peculiar views of Friends*. As this may be thought to amount to a serious charge, we must be permitted to explain ourselves.

Of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, to make a Christian wise unto salvation, we shall not be suspected of entertaining any doubt. This grand means of religious instruction, we have no reason to believe to be neglected by Friends. We have now before us an excellent little tract on "the Duty and Benefit of a Daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures, in Families," written by an estimable member of their Body, which we take this opportunity of cordially recommending.* In this Tract, the commentaries of Bishop Horne on the Psalms, of Burkitt and Doddridge on the New Testament, and of Orton and Scott on the whole Bible, are recommended as helps to the understanding of the Scriptures;

* "The Duty and Benefit of a Daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures, in Families. By Lindley Murray." 12mo. Price 1s. York, 1817.

and we cannot doubt that, in the families of many Friends, the recommendation has been followed. Further, it must be admitted, that in no class of society is the home education of children more strictly and wisely attended to,—made more an object of maternal interest and serious occupation, than among the more intelligent families of Friends. The cause of private as well as of public education is infinitely indebted to their publications, their exertions, and their example. It is to religious instruction we confine our remark, and that remark has chiefly a specific reference.

Among the appointed means of enlightening and saving men, in civilized as well as in uncivilized countries, next in order to the circulation of the Scriptures, we cannot but place the preaching of the Gospel, or the ministry of the word. We know of no other moral engine, indeed, that can, under many circumstances, be brought to bear on an untaught or irreligious population; and it has ever been the instrument, not only of extending the faith of Christ, but of building up the Church itself in the faith of the Gospel. But, upon this subject, there is known to exist in the Quaker body, a peculiarity of opinion which distinguishes their practice from that of all other Reformed communities. Their antipathy to the pulpit is almost as great as to the altar and the Prayer-book. They have ministers, and some of their ministers are impressive and even eloquent speakers; but with them no regular provision is made either for qualifying teachers to instruct the people, or for securing the regular services of their ministers. Preaching is almost as rare a thing among the Quakers, as it was in the English Church in the days of Papistry. The substitute in both cases may be thought not wholly dissimilar,—a silent worship, and a worship in an unknown tongue.

Now how admirable soever a system of discipline might be in other respects, as providing for the education and securing the good conduct of its members,—for the efficiency of Quakerism in these respects cannot be denied,—still, it is next to impossible that the mass of the people should, upon such a plan, be found to possess a competent acquaintance with the matter of religious instruction. Even were the Quakers a more reading people generally than they are, the lower orders would unavoidably sink into a state of mental ignorance bordering on a lethargy of the moral powers, when thus deprived of the standing ordinance of oral instruction. Intelligible and unambiguous as is the New Testament to the plainest capacity, when studied with diligent attention and prayer, still, to secure its being so read, to assist in understanding it, and to apply its Divine truths to the

conscience, some other means are generally requisite ; and these means are furnished by the system of pulpit instruction which the Quakers reject. The consequence is, that, in remote parts of the country more especially, where the worship is wholly silent, or where many Friends reside who are not in the habit of attending any meeting-house, owing to distance or other circumstances, the habit and form of Quakerism conceal a state of things very little above Deism. It would not be just to charge upon the body, the ignorance or irreligion of individuals not in actual communion with any of its societies. Still, the deficient provision, or the no-provision of a public kind, besides that of education, which the system makes for the religious instruction of its members, we must regard as a fatal error, and, viewed in relation to Society, as the most objectionable feature of Quakerism.

The moral wants of the lower classes, we are well persuaded, can be reached only by an effective Christian ministry. The history of Scotland speaks most loudly on this point. Still, much might be done to supply a deficiency of pulpit instruction by the circulation of small religious works, exhibiting the fundamental doctrines of Christianity in a popular and practical form. To what extent the theological writings of ministers of other denominations are circulated among Friends, we have no means of ascertaining ; but we cannot help suspecting that such works are in very little request among them, since a great standing demand of the kind, would of necessity have produced a home supply. The fact, that Quakerism has been so wholly unproductive to the religious world in this respect since the days of Penn, proves, we think, that the neglect of the means of religious instruction charged upon the system, is not confined to the ordinance of preaching. We have heard of no Quaker Tract Societies or Book Societies ; and though we should be far from regretting this circumstance, if Friends could feel at liberty to co-operate generally with existing institutions of the kind, we fear that the object of such societies is not provided for by the practice of the body.

In the higher circles of the Society, a morbid dread of religious controversy has tended to banish not merely controversial writings, but works of theological information from the parlour and the library. We call it morbid, because we think it has been excessive, and that it has not sprung from a healthful feeling. A dislike of controversy, in individuals, may proceed from high-toned spirituality of mind ; while it *may* originate in mental indolence, or a certain moral cowardice equally unworthy of the true believer. We are no advocates for the licentiousness

of free inquiry; and as regards the young and the superficially informed more especially, we can conceive of no conduct more absurd or more mischievous, than suffering them to become involved in the mazes of controversy, with the possibility that they may take the right turning, and thread at last the labyrinth, when the probability is, that they will become the victims of error. But though all the works of sceptics could be collected or burned, or, that being impossible, could the habitations of Friends be never so carefully closed and watched against their introduction, what is to guard the minds of the young against the *unwritten* controversies, the germs of error and scepticism which spring up in every thinking mind, from seeds wafted on every wind, and which only early culture or a Divine influence can eradicate? If there ever was a time when the minds of men could be held in passive, implicit ignorance, that time is past. Quakerism must either rouse itself to meet the exigencies of the times, or it must be swept away by the rising tide. Knowledge will find its level; and every thing which depends for its stability on the exclusion of knowledge, will be undermined and overthrown. The orthodoxy which is bottomed on human creeds, or which is perpetuated only in the oral traditions and educational peculiarities of a sect, will give way before the first assault. There must be added, "with all diligence, to faith" "virtue, and to virtue knowledge," to enable the believer to escape the errors and corruptions that are in the world.

It should seem from a passage in Mr. Barton's Tract, that Friends themselves have partly been roused to a sense of the necessity of some defensive measures to stop the inroads of infidelity.

'Dost thou,' he says to the author of the "Address," 'anticipate the diffusion of Unitarian principles among us? Permit me candidly to express my conviction, founded upon deliberate observation, and no slight acquaintance with what has been said, written, and done on this subject of later years, that the attempt is a very unpromising one. It has been made by talents fully equal to thy own, perhaps far superior, in times and under circumstances more favourable to its probable success; and has, I think, most signally failed Dost thou imagine that the events of the last twenty years have been so totally unobserved by our seniors, that no pains have been taken to instil into the minds of the rising generation principles decidedly adverse to those which thou art desirous of disseminating? Be assured they have not. If, prior to having the discussion of these doctrines forced upon them, as they were some few years ago, the Society of Friends had satisfied itself, for the most part, with allowing its faith respecting them to be less ostensibly avowed, and less minutely detailed, than it more recently has been; most unquestionably the in-

investigation thus *obtruded*, has had a tendency diametrically opposite to what was intended by those who agitated the topic.'

Mr. Barton states, that 'an increased uniformity of faith' has been the result of such discussions. We rejoice to hear it. But, in order to secure the continuance of this uniformity, if it be grounded on individual conviction, there must be a persistence in this new and wiser policy of being before-hand with the sceptic, by instilling the principles of Christianity into the minds of the rising generation. 'Minute speculations on abstruse points of faith,' the Society will do well to discountenance. We agree with Mr. Barton, that they have no beneficial operation on the mind.

'They are not,' he remarks, 'adapted to strengthen it in the hour of temptation, nor to fortify it in the season of affliction. They are not necessarily influential on our lives, nor the most consolatory sources of reflection in death. We can do, and we have enough to do, without them.....I much doubt if a disposition to embark on the ocean of metaphysics and theological controversy, indicate a perfectly healthy state of mind, especially in youth. Some alienation of the affections from simple devotedness, some loss of true humility, and some increased reliance on our own powers, will, I believe, be generally found to have preceded a relish for the subtilities of school divinity: the appetite grows with what it feeds upon, till the more practical truths of the Gospel become insipid, and in danger of being overlooked in our researches after its recondite mysteries.' 'A devotion (to such studies) is both immediately and prospectively attended with great danger. In proportion to their occupation of our time, thoughts, and attention, we run imminent risk of mistaking the means for the end, and of losing, in the very attempt to arrive at truth, that susceptibility of good, and spirituality of feeling, which are far above speculative knowledge.' 'Besides, few are content to bestow their time and labour on such pursuits for their own profit alone. All doctrines appear, when first embraced, self-evident to a proselyte; and a young man who has acquired a smattering of theology, is commonly an eager disputant.' 'It is so much easier to dispute on religious points of doctrine, than to live a religious life, that great acuteness in argument is often associated with levity and carelessness of conduct.'

These are excellent sentiments. But how is such a disposition in the minds of young persons to be most effectually counteracted or repressed? Certainly not by withholding from them explicit information on the subjects in question, but only by thoroughly grounding them in the evidences of the truth. A smattering of theology is a most dangerous acquirement; but the best preservative against it, is a thorough knowledge of Bible principles. Let the truths of the Gospel be fa-

miliarised and endeared to the mind by competent instruction, and abstruse speculations would cease to have attractions. If an appetite for these indicates an unhealthy state of mind, the morbid tendency can be prevented, only by producing a healthy action of the intellectual powers, and by supplying a wholesome knowledge. Besides, the plainest and most essential doctrines of the Gospel have given rise to abstruse polemical discussions, which have brought the doctrines themselves into ill repute with the prejudiced and uninformed. We must therefore be very careful lest, by stripping Christianity of all that has been deemed abstruse or doubtful, we dismember it of its vital doctrines, and simplify it into a meagre modification of Deism. Judicious theological works of a practical character, and an effective system of public religious instruction, appear to us the natural and the only means of combating the opposite dangers of implicit ignorance and a free-thinking latitudinarianism.

In this sentiment, we are happy to believe that the intelligent Friend to whose Tract we have referred, will heartily concur with us. Hitherto, the Public have known Bernard Barton only as 'the Quaker Poet.' This article will introduce him to our readers in a still higher character; and though such a publication as the Letter before us, can add little to his fame, it will strengthen his hold on their esteem. Mr. Barton could not more usefully employ himself, than in the composition of small religious works, which should be adapted to circulate information, and promote the interests of piety among his own society. We know not in what light his labours are regarded by that estimable body. Quakerism has no benefices or sinecures, no secular or ecclesiastical honours, no laureate wreath or academic diploma to bestow, either as bribes or rewards on its deserving children. He, therefore, who should devote his days and nights to the service of the Society, had need to engage in it as a "work of faith and labour of love," which must await the bright reversion of eternity for its reward. Still, may we be permitted, without incurring the charge of officiousness, to suggest, that the Society owes it to itself, putting aside the claims of the individual, not to let one who has done both honour and service to his religious connexions, and who might employ his talents yet more honourably and usefully, want either the leisure or the encouragement which might enable him to turn to account his well-earned fame. We are induced to throw out this passing hint, by learning with regret, that all that Mr. Barton has hitherto produced, has been composed under circumstances by no means favourable to author-

ship, or even compatible with it, except at sacrifices which have too often curtailed

‘ the brief span of life,
By useless, thankless, hopeless strife,’*

and added to the long catalogue of the victims of intellectual ardour.

Should these brief and cursory remarks attract the attention of the Society of Friends, we hope that they will be received in the spirit of friendship which has dictated them. It has been our anxious wish, neither to misrepresent nor to offend; but we have had a higher object in view than the mere gratification of any of our readers, and have felt it to be our duty, at the risk of offending, to submit these considerations on a subject which has hitherto attracted far less attention than it deserves. In conclusion, the impression which we wish to leave with our readers, is, that *the Church of Christ is one*. ‘Whereupon,’ says Hooker, ‘because the only object which separateth ours from other religions, is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles do every where distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and Jews, accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this, certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being, of the Church of God, either indeed, or in men’s opinions and conceits. This is the error of all popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are.’—What is wanted to bind all true Christians together in a genuine Catholicism, but the recognition of the just and noble sentiment thus admirably expressed? Errors and opposite views of non-essentials will probably always break the uniformity of the visible Church; and these, to a certain extent, render the religious intercommunion of differing churches impracticable. Such intercommunion, however, so far as conscience admits of it, ought never to be lost sight of as a most desirable object. As Dissenters, we know of no principle of Nonconformity, certainly none of Christianity, which should exclude Episcopalian, Moravian, Wesleyan, or Quaker, still retaining all his opinions, from com-

* See ‘Stanzas on the Approach of Winter’ in “Napoleon and other Poems,” by Bernard Barton.

munion with us, if *his* principles admitted of such an expression of Christian fellowship. But as this cannot under existing circumstances be realised, what we plead for is still more important, namely, the recognition of our common principles as Protestant Christians calling upon the name of Christ. If the terms of communion cannot be, at least let the terms of mutual charity and kindness be co-extensive with the terms of salvation. Our Quaker friends have hitherto kept widely aloof from all the other sections of the Protestant world, in matters of religion, extending their fellowship to none, their tolerance to all; at once the most sectarian and the most charitable of sects, the least catholic and the most liberal; the most comprehensive in their spirit, the most narrow and exclusive in their ecclesiastical policy; towards their fellow-Christians the most reserved and unbending, towards their fellow-men the most benevolent; retreating with horror from the Calvinist, sympathising with the Negro. This is an anomalous state of things. Were they Jews or Mahommedans, we could indeed wish for nothing better, while they retained their sentiments, than that it should continue to characterise them as a body. But we take them to be Christians, fellow Christians. At least, as regards a considerable portion of the body, (for it would be too much to hope of the whole of any religious society, that of them the remark should hold good,) we consider them as visibly allied, by their profession of the faith of Christ and their exemplary lives, to the Church of God. On this ground we acknowledge them, and claim to be in turn acknowledged by them, as members of the same body. And while we wish not to impair the breadth of their beaver by the eighth of an inch, or to rob them of one of their harmless peculiarities, nor yet to bring them over to an outward conformity to any of our notions or practices in matters non-essential, we plead, for Christianity's sake, to be not merely tolerated, but comprehended in the range of an enlightened Catholicism, by those whom we recognise as Christians. There is but one true Church; and therefore, if both parties do not in fact consist of brother Churchmen in the best sense, one of the two is, by the very terms, excluded from the pale; that is to say, its members are not Christians.

- Art. IV. 1. *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society. By the Rev. William Jowett, M.A. 8vo. Price 10s. London. 1822.
2. *Travels along the Mediterranean and Parts adjacent* : in Company with the Earl of Belmore. By Robert Richardson, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1822.

EGYPT, the parent of Grecian and even of Chaldean wisdom, the inventress of science, the oracle of nations, in whose schools, Moses, and Pythagoras, and Plato exhausted the treasures of human learning, may be said to have sunk into the decrepitude and imbecillity of a second childhood. How strikingly has the oracle been fulfilled: "It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations." "There shall no more be a prince of the land of Egypt." "The sceptre of Egypt shall pass away." "How say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they? Where are thy wise men?"* All have perished, and the name of the once most enlightened of nations, has come to be associated only with utter darkness. In place of her native line of Pharaohs, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, and last of all the Turk, have subjected this once proud and still fertile country to their iron despotism; and under the last and most despicable of her conquerors, it has literally become the basest of the kingdoms. Science survived for a time the fall of the empire, and even since the Christian era, seemed for a season to rally her ancient strength in the school of Alexandria. But Christian Egypt has also passed away: at least, that which calls itself Christianity, is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian Church. The orthodox Greeks and the Monophysite Copts, though retaining their ancient distinctions, are alike slumbering the sleep of death amid the shades of the grossest ignorance. Twenty thousand Coptic families, of whom fifteen hundred reside in Cairo, and a few of the other Christian communions, estimated altogether at a population of 100,000 native Christians, form the small remains of the once famous patriarchate of Alexandria. The ascendancy of the Coptic Church over those of the Greeks and the Latins, originated in the Copts making terms with the Saracen invaders of Egypt in the seventh century, and assisting the Mussulmans to expel their orthodox rivals, the Greeks. The exactions and

* Ezek. xxix. 15, xxx. 13. Zech. x. 11. Isa. xix. 11.

oppression they have ever since been subjected to, Mr. Jowett considers as 'a standing warning to the Church, of the guilt 'and certain punishment of discord, perfidy, and schism.' The sin of schism, however, lay quite as much at the door of the Greeks; and even that of heresy, which Mr. J. would fasten more peculiarly on the poor Monophysites and Monothelites, might be shewn to attach with equal justice to the General Councils and the ferocious prelates by which they were anathematized. The Greeks were their tyrants and oppressors in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical; and it is probable that, when they exchanged the Byzantine for the Saracenic yoke, they lost nothing, and they might hope to gain much. Perfidy could not be charged on a measure which had self-defence for its plea, which violated no compact, no alliance, and which was less a schism of the Church, than a political revolution wresting the devoted country from one foreign tyrant, to consign it to another.

The perpetuation of even the semblance of Christianity under these circumstances, is a most striking phenomenon. In Egypt, as in Abyssinia, in Syria, and in Muscovy, the ecclesiastical historian finds the standing documents of remote ages,—the notions, practices, and corruptions of the fourth and fifth centuries still extant, having undergone no essential change, but perfect as a carcase embalmed in snow, or incrustated by petrification; preserved from decay by the very element of cold and darkness which envelops them. The Protestant Christian, when brought into contact with these posthumous relics of the middle ages, finds himself less separated by diversity of national habits or of dialect, than by ecclesiastical prejudices and religious differences, from those who avow a common faith. The Coptic priest at Alexandria asked Mr. Jowett, 'how we used to baptize,' and shook his head at hearing that the English Church used *no holy oil*. The Alexandrian Greeks, indeed, claim some alliance with the English, as it seems that our countrymen there are indebted to them for the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial, if not of absolution. We, said a Greek Priest to Mr. Jowett, '*we are alike: we marry, bury, baptize, &c. for the English; but the Copts—ah!*'

In every point of view, however, Egypt is an object of the highest interest, and is likely to become increasingly such. It is all but holy land. Its antiquities are of the most curious and imposing character, and altogether peculiar to the country. Its proverbial fertility, its geographical situation, its commercial advantages, its provincial government, so favourable to its independence whenever circumstances shall admit of its being detached from the ill-shapen empire to which it belongs, its

importance as one of the portals to the interior of Africa, as the connecting link between the African and the Asiatic countries,—all these considerations conspire to recommend it alike to the traveller, the statesman, and the philanthropist, as one of the most interesting regions in the world. From Alexandria, there is much commerce with Malta and various ports of Europe, and by way of the Red Sea, with the East Indies. The latter, however, is principally in the hands of the Mahomedans. Cairo contains a large and mingled population from many parts of Africa. It forms by far the most advantageous line of communication with Abyssinia, and perhaps with the Mahomedan States on the North; and the language, Arabic, is both well cultivated, and very extensively available as a medium of communication with the adjacent nations. On these several accounts, Mr. Jowett strongly recommends Cairo as a missionary station. It would have the efficient protection of the British Consul-General. Add to this, that the English are highly in favour with Mahommed Ali, the present viceroy; nor will Aboukir and Alexandria soon be forgotten.

The motley population of 'the Saracenic capital of the land of the Pharaohs,' consists of Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Copts, Jews, and Armenians. Of these, the first and the last, Dr. Richardson states, (and his testimony is in concurrence with that of other travellers,) are generally the most upright and agreeable in all mercantile transactions.

'The Turks, being masters of the country, are superior to all in wealth and dignity; yet the Arabs constitute by far the greatest part of the population, both in Cairo, and throughout the whole of Egypt and Syria, and their language is the vernacular tongue in both countries. Notwithstanding which, and their being of the same religion with the Turks, they enjoy no offices of emolument, and are kept nearly in as much subjection as the Copts or the Greeks, though they are at least in the proportion of twenty to one or more. The Armenians are numerous, and entirely engaged in trade, and bear the character of a respectable, industrious people. They are favourably situated in Egypt at present, on account of one of their countrymen being the interpreter and one of the confidential advisers of the Pasha. The number of Jews in Cairo was differently stated at three, four, five, or six thousand. But I am disposed to think that the highest number is considerably under the truth. They are an industrious people, and are chiefly engaged in small traffic, as in this country; but many of them being able to read, write, and cipher, are employed in the different offices of government. They have seven synagogues in Cairo. The Copts are generally considered as the legitimate remains of the ancient Egyptians, as retaining in their features and even in their name, proofs of their descent from that great and wonderful people. Though I must be permitted to say, that neither in their features nor

In their complexion, have they the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians that are represented in the tombs at Thebes, or any other part of Egypt that I ever visited. There are about 8000 of them in Cairo; and throughout the whole of Egypt inclusive, 25,000..... Though they understand figures and writing better than any other class of people in Egypt, and are much employed by the Pasha in matters of accounts, yet they certainly are an uncouth and grovelling race, and further removed from civilization and the softened habits of society, than any of their fellow citizens. They have a sulky and designing look, with much of that low cunning that renders a man unpleasant and suspected. They have an unusual command of feature, but not of eye, which announces, with all its diversity of expression, the craft and intrigue of their disposition; and I never saw one of them either in their bazars, demanding twice the sum that he would take for his goods, or brushing away on the back of his excellent *bourika* (ass), that he did not exhibit a sallow, smoothed up face, with a soft and fair speech, like an arrant rogue that, having composed his features and wiped his mouth, wished to pass for an honest man. I speak of those in Cairo, for I have seen many in the country of whom I would willingly believe and say better things. They have been often conquered and long been held in slavery, and are not yet reconciled to their situation.

Vol. I. pp. 87—97.

In this portrait, there are many traits common to the Copt and the European Greek, and it is difficult to discriminate the national character from the necessary effects of political degradation. The claims of either to be considered as the genuine representative of the ancient nation to whose name the modern race has succeeded, would seem to be equally doubtful. The present Copts, Dr. Richardson is decidedly of opinion, are a mixed race, bearing in their physiognomy the marks of an alliance to the great Circassian family, and obviously distinguished from the children of Mizraim, the aboriginal Egyptians. We must transcribe his remarks on the probable origin of the present race.

‘Prior to the Persian conquest, Egypt possessed a population of 7,000,000; all of them, it is presumed, Egyptians. That three and twenty hundred years of bondage and persecution should have reduced them to their present number, is not so surprising as that they should, notwithstanding all their changes of masters, have remained a distinct people. Latterly, the Christian religion, the strongest cement of society, has knit them together in one bond of union, and placed an insurmountable barrier between them and their present masters. The same distinction obtained, in a certain degree, between them and their Persian conquerors. But this was not the case under the Greeks, who were themselves a colony from Egypt. The Ptolemies repaired their temples, presented their offerings on the same altars, and worshipped the same deities with them. The Egyptians adopted their alphabet, and pro-

bably much of their language : their own is now completely lost. They never appear to have amalgamated so well with the Romans, under whose government they made several efforts to recover their independence. After their conversion to Christianity, they appear to have formed one sect with the Greeks and Romans ; and the national distinction must have been then greatly sunk ; and the present Copts are probably a mixture of the ancient Egyptians with those inhabitants of the country who embraced that religion at the same time with themselves.' pp. 90, 1.

In remote mountain regions, a nation or tribe is sometimes found perpetuating its identity through a long series of generations ; but in plains subject to be swept by desolating armies, it would seem to be impossible that the weaker race should escape extermination, otherwise than by blending with that of its conquerors. All that was vital in the character of the ancient Egyptians, transmigrated into other forms, was merged in the language and institutions of their Asiatic and Grecian conquerors. If any physical traces of the race remain, unmixed with other tribes, it must be sought for in the troglodytes of the mountains, the fellahs of the upper country, or in the unvisited recesses of the Ethiopic family. The physiognomy of the ancient Egyptians, there is little reason to doubt, has been preserved in the Memnon and other colossal statues. In these,

'the countenance is generally well executed, the lower eye-lid particularly delicate, and the lips do all but speak. They are generally fleshy and large, and *approach considerably to those of the negro*, as, in some, do also the nose and forehead ; in others, and those by far the finest, excepting in the lips, there is not the slightest resemblance (to the negro) in the countenance, though a good deal both in the legs and arms, in the hands and in the feet. The fingers are of unequal length, as we find them in nature. The second toe is generally longer than the first, which is uniformly the case in the African, and occasionally in the European ; but the reverse is generally exhibited in the Grecian statues. The drapery, countenance, and body of the statue are decidedly national ; a proof that the artists were natives of the country whose gods and heroes they have sculptured. A foreign artist generally imparts something of the costume of his native land, and can never give the true feeling and expression to the countenance of a stranger. Memnon was an Egyptian.'

Vol. II. pp. 117, 8.

The antiquities of Egypt, after all the boastful researches of the French *savans*, the imposing descriptions of Denon, and the more meritorious labours of Belzoni, have as yet scarcely been entered upon. The site of Alexandria, and that of Thebes, are each in itself a mine, which would amply repay the working. The former has been unaccountably neglected.

'Yet,' remarks Dr. Richardson, 'this is the door by which the Egyptian antiquary ought to enter upon his researches.'

'Alexandria was the connecting link between the Egyptian and the Grecian world; where the obscure and symbolical writings of the one were interpreted into the well-known and almost universal language of the other. This is the place to search for the key that will unlock the hidden mysteries of the hieroglyphics. Here, for the first time, as far as we know, the sacred language of the priests was translated into the language of the country, and the language of its conquerors; and if any corresponding alphabet exists to enable us to know the value of each symbolical character used in the sacred writing of the ancient Egyptians, it is more likely to be found among the ruins of this city of interpreters than in any other place. All that learning and ingenuity can do, has already been done; yet we do not know the value of a single character, nor the principle of using it, nor so much as a word in the language. No man living can write the name of George IV. in hieroglyphics, or tell the import of any one of the characters that compose the tablet said to answer to the name of Ptolemy in the Rosetta inscription, nor how that was pronounced when written.' Vol. I. pp. 27, 8.

The present aspect of the Ptolemaic capital is that of hideous desolation.

'It is in rubbish. The enemy has levelled its towers, and broken down its walls; and the wind from the desert has laid it under a load of sand, so that scarcely a single fragment that appears, can be referred to its own original. Before us, in the centre of the scene, enlivened by a few spreading palms, stood a Greek and a Capuchin convent, a buffalo turning a water-wheel, a round column on our right, and a tall obelisk on our left. Excepting these, all was height alternating with hollow, mound rising over mound, with here and there the end of a beautiful column, or the angle of an enormous stone, cropping out to break the continuity of the drifted sand unconsolidated by aught of vegetable growth.....

'Continuing the route, I came to two beautiful obelisks that once adorned the entrance of the Palace of the Ptolemies. One still stands erect, the other lies prostrate; but both are entire, except a small disintegration from the action of the weather, on the south-east side. They are covered with hieroglyphics on every side. The tablets refer them to the temples and statues in Heliopolis and Thebes. They are about sixty-four feet high and eight feet square at the base. The one that lies prostrate is mounted on props, and seems as if prepared for a journey. I believe accident alone has prevented its being in England.

'Having surveyed the obelisks, I regained the beaten track, and pursued my way to the Rosetta-gate, along what seemed to have been the principal street. On each side lay rows of stately columns of marble, all overturned. These are probably the remains of that magnificent colonnade, that passed between the gates of the sun and moon, adorning the principal street of the city on each side. In the numerous ex-

cavations, I observed many deep foundations, arches, and walls of what had been stately buildings; but could not be certain in referring any of them to structures of particular note.....Continuing the route, I passed out of the Rosetta gate, and turning to the left, proceeded over the ruins towards the Lochian promontory. The palace which occupied about one third of the town, stretched along in this direction. The hollow sound beneath our feet, indicated the nature of the mounds over which we were passing; and the sand which had poured down in several places, opened a vista into large subterraneous chambers, which it was impossible to examine without much excavation. Detached masses of stone and lime, and brick and lime, of Roman manufacture, lay round in great profusion; and all along this east side of the great harbour, ruined houses are seen extending a great way into the sea, which were probably merged under the surface of the water, at the time of the fatal earthquake, in which Alexandria lost 50,000 of her citizens.' Vol. I. pp. 13—18.

The island of Antirrhodos has disappeared; Dr. Richardson conjectures by the same catastrophe. 'Diocletian's pillar,' so long known by the name of Pompey's pillar, still lifts its majestic elevation above the scene of ruin, having survived the convulsions of nature. Its pedestal, about twelve feet high, is stated to be much injured; but the column, which is one block of large-grained granite, nine feet in diameter, and about ninety feet high, surmounted by a Corinthian capital of about ten feet, is very little injured by the effects of time. About a mile to the west, are the Catacombs, nearly in as ruinous a condition as the city. Dr. R. considers them as entirely and decidedly Grecian. The Pharos has given place to an insignificant Turkish fortress. 'And on that spot from which an hospitable ray issued far and wide to invite the industrious mariner to come and anchor in a peaceful harbour, a sullen Mussulman now smokes his pipe, and looking from the embrasures, insults the Christian, and turns him from the gate with disdain.'

New Cairo, called Massr by the inhabitants, (an abbreviation of Massr al Kahira,) boasts of no higher antiquity than the eleventh century,—a modern date for any thing in Egypt. Old Cairo, the far-famed city of Arabian fable, and the successor of Babylon, has degenerated into an inconsiderable village. The mosques of Grand Cairo, some of which are splendid, are enriched with granite columns, the plunder of On and Memphis. Some of them are said to contain five hundred, and some a thousand columns. Here Dr. Richardson had the honour of an interview, in company with the Earl of Belmore and Mr. Salt, with his Highness the Pasha. He is a native of Rumania, about forty eight years of age, of a slender make, a sallow complexion, and rather under the middle size. Under

his vigorous government, the licentiousness of the soldiery has been effectually curbed, the banditti have been suppressed, and the internal tranquillity of the country established, so that 'the traveller may now visit every corner of Egypt unmolested: he may go with his money in his hand from one end of it to the other; and murder is almost unknown.' These, remarks our Author, are new facts in the history of Egypt. 'The roving Bedoueens are compelled to pay tribute, to live in their tents, and to pasture their flocks quietly along the edge of the desert, without pilfering from, or molesting their peaceful neighbours in the villages.' Of the summary manner in which Turkish justice is administered in Cairo, a revolting instance occurred during Dr. Richardson's sojourn in that city.

'One of our party mentioned to me, that he saw an officer of justice walk into two shops, and take out two men, and hang them up by the neck each over his own door. The offence he did not learn; but the summary proceeding struck him with horror. I was afterwards informed, that this is the manner in which the laws of Egypt punish extortion, light weight, or selling goods at an exorbitant profit. The officer of justice is named Awali el Cadi, or first officer of the Cadi. The punishment for light bread is to put the baker into his own oven, which is performed by the same friend of the public abovementioned; a punishment which humanity would forbid us to record, did not the evidence of creditable witnesses compel us to receive it as truth.'

Vol. I. p. 84.

His Highness's proficiency in political economy is not greater than in jurisprudence. He is the sole merchant in the country: all the trade is in his hands. He has established manufactures of sugar, gunpowder, salt-petre, indigo, cotton, &c. under the direction of Europeans, of which he is the sole proprietor; and no one is permitted to found any rival establishment. All his views centre in the accumulation of wealth. One of his measures, however, is as wise as it will probably prove beneficial to the country. Having met with difficulty in procuring qualified persons to superintend his manufactories, he has sent out a number of his subjects to study the different branches of science he wishes to cultivate, at Genoa, Leghorn, and Milan; some of them have visited England. This sufficiently proves him to have a mind far above the level of his countrymen. He has himself learned to read and write, since he attained the age of forty.

There is in Cairo a slave-market,—'a place where man sells man.' When Mr. Jowett was there, he saw about thirty in the khan, but learned that two hundred more had been just imported from Massowah. The Darfur slaves fetch about

1200 piâstres, (about 30l.) each; the Abyssinians, double that sum. Mr. J. was informed, that 'the slaves caught in Abyssinia are eight times transferred by sale to different masters, before they reach Massowah, where they are embarked for Suez.' As the masters of the slaves *make them all Mahommedans*, Franks used never to be permitted to go into the slave-market; but now, under the more tolerant government of Mahommed Ali, they have the privilege of buying them through an agent, and may have them openly in their houses. 'Whether,' adds Mr. J., 'the slaves are at all bettered by this circumstance, is more than doubtful.' Indeed, disgraceful as the traffic is under any modification, the Mahommedan slave has some security, in the service of a Mahommedan master, of meeting with a treatment comparatively humane; and his situation is, probably, not much worse than that of a domestic bondsman. At all events, the home trade is not to be compared with the horrors of the middle passage, and the severities of a Christian taskmaster.

Dr. Richardson describes his feelings at the first sight of the pyramids as partaking of disappointment. 'The eye encountered something less than the mind expected.' 'What,' he exclaims, 'after all, is a pyramid to a mountain,—the work of man to that of his Maker?' Yet Chateaubriand expressed a similar feeling at the first sight of the Glaciers. The fact is, that the eye can judge of height only by comparison. It is in nature, as in painting: the effect of vastness or altitude can be given only by throwing figures into the landscape, whose shrunk dimensions may assist the eye in calculating the measurement of the larger mass that towers above them. As the party filed along the contiguous bases of the two larger pyramids of Gheeza, it was then that, 'measuring their sides on the hard back of a slow-paced bourika,' the patient mind had leisure to compute every inch of their extent, and arrived at the idea of their stupendous magnitude—one square of 700 feet, succeeded by another of 650, each towering to the height of between 400 and 500 feet. Dr. R. is decidedly of opinion, that they are of a sepulchral character. The whole region, indeed, is a vast cemetery. No trace of coating remains on the pyramids of Gheeza, but he has no doubt that such coating did once exist; although he inclines to think that the description given by Herodotus, would apply rather to the pyramids of Abousir. Attempts have been made, at different periods, by Saracen kalifs, to demolish these wonderful structures; but those weak and abortive attempts were exhausted on the mere coating, which formed the readiest quarry in building the walls and citadel of Cairo, and the immense causeway constructed by order

of Saladin, of which the remains are still to be seen. The removal of the coating accounts, our Author thinks, for the great damage sustained by the steps all round; 'while the rolling down of the immense stones from the top, will account for those towards the middle being more injured than those at the angles.' As no coating remains on any part of the base, he is disposed to think that the plunderers began at the base, and regularly ascended in their dilapidations. As to the supposition, that this coating was covered with hieroglyphics, none of the pyramids whose coverings remain, have any inscribed on them. 'The small part of the coating which remains on the second pyramid, has no hieroglyphics: the larger pyramids at Abousir, Sakkareh, and Dahschour, are all coated, but have no hieroglyphics; and I am humbly of opinion,' adds Dr. R., 'that the pyramid of Cheops or that of Mycerinus had none either.' Towards the middle of the East front of the large pyramid, and parallel with it, a broad, deep trench, gradually descending at each end, like a carriage road through a pond, has been cut in the surface of the rock; its length about one third that of the pyramid.

'It is half full of sand, and is entered on the east side by a channel like a canal for the conveyance of water. It is rather surprising that among all the excavations made about the pyramids, this trench should never have been examined; for it appears to me to be connected with the most important object in the pyramid; namely, that for which it was erected, the tomb of Cheops. It is stated, that many subterraneous chambers were made in the rock under the pyramid, and that the water of the Nile was introduced and encompassed them, forming an island on which the body of Cheops was deposited. The water of the Nile must have been raised to this level by artificial means, such as are now employed to raise it to irrigate the land after the inundation has subsided, and even in many places when it is at its height: These chambers, or subterranean vaults, are at present unknown, and I am disposed to consider this as the channel by which the water of the Nile entered the pyramid: and if excavation should prove it to be so, the whole of them would then be discovered, and the explorer would be well rewarded for his trouble, and probably for his expense. There is no such trench connected with the second pyramid, and we are informed by Herodotus, that the water of the Nile was not admitted into it; that it had no subterranean structures, and no island within it.'

The barbarous magnificence of this idea reminds one of the sub-arnian tomb of Attila. Cheops, like the European tyrant, was probably a conqueror, and, from his known contempt for the religion of the country, Dr. Richardson conjectures him to have been a foreign usurper. He supposes the pyramids to be the monuments of an exotic faith. We must refer to his vo-

lames for the reasonings by which he supports this ingenious hypothesis. It is favoured by the absence of hieroglyphics in these stupendous sepulchres; a circumstance otherwise difficult to account for. Cheops flourished 1032 years before Christ, according to which calculation he was the contemporary of David; he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, and Mycerinus his son; after which follows a chasm in Egyptian chronology of 151 years, extending to the year 815 B.C., when Asyches, the first king of the sixth dynasty, succeeded to the throne, in the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah. It was during this interval, Dr. R. is disposed to think, that the pyramids were built; which would account for their not being mentioned either in the Bible or by Homer. In the superior style of their architecture, as well as in the peculiarity of their character as sepulchres, they differ from every thing Egyptian.

‘Nothing,’ says our Author, ‘could be better calculated than their form, to resist the erosions of time; and they were defended by such a smooth and polished covering, that not a drop of water could lie on their surface. The body of the pyramid throughout, as far as we are allowed to see it, is also of the most substantial description. Large blocks of stone, four, five, six, and eight feet square, roughly cut, and connected by a thin layer of cement, with the break-joint regularly preserved, and each successive layer receding from a foot and a half to two feet from the exterior, and advancing as far upon the interior layer beneath it. Not a stone has slipped from its place; it stands, with the security of a mountain, the most indestructible pile that human ingenuity ever reared. The joinings and the polish of the granite casings in the interior, equally manifest the eminent skill of the artist, and the great perfection that the art had attained at the early age at which they were erected..... The manner in which the materials are put together is as different from the temples, or any other ancient building in Egypt, as a Roman wall is from a Greek, or a French wall from an English. The sarcophagi connected with them are also different in size, structure, and workmanship. The stone is a compact lime-stone, containing many shells and small hard substances like *acini*, of a more compact texture than the stone itself. These small concretions are particularly numerous in the rock around the base of the pyramid..... The circumstance proves, that at least part of the stones of which the structure is built, were taken from the rock around its base.’

Vol. I. pp. 149, 50.

But if the pyramids are not to be ascribed to native architects, to what nation can conjecture with any plausibility refer them? In no other part of the world, do we find traces of similar structures. In their Cyclopean masonry alone, there appears some resemblance to the architecture of Balbec, and in the materials of the brick pyramid, a coincidence with the mas-

sive ruins in the plain of Shinar. The excavations are works of a wholly different character, bearing an obvious affinity to those of Hindostan. The pyramid Asawée is distinguished from all the others, by its shape and appearance. It stands on an elevated base, is seemingly composed of heterogeneous materials, and 'rises up like a tower.' The larger pyramid of Dahschour, is cased with smooth flags of compact chalky limestone, joined by a cement of lime without any mixture of sand, which gives it the appearance of being covered with plaster. It slopes up gradually to the height of fifty feet, then suddenly contracts, and terminates at an elevation of about three hundred feet. The next pyramid, the height of which is not given, but which is about seven hundred feet square at the base, is stated to contain a handsome chamber, which, says Dr. R., 'exactly resembles the drawings that I have seen of the treasury of Atreus at Mycene.' It is lined with large slabs of polished granite, each projecting about six inches beyond the one below it, so as to terminate nearly in a point at top, and giving the appearance of an arch, 'though certainly not constructed on that principle.' The third is the brick pyramid, supposed, by our Author, to be that of Asyches. We shall extract the description of it, for the sake of the remarks which it serves to introduce,

'It is much fallen down on the north side, and looks as if the roof of one chamber had given way, and the walls fallen in. The bricks are sun-dried and remarkably fresh; they have been made of mud and cut straw, in the same manner that bricks are made in Egypt in the present day. The straw is required to give tenacity to the material, which is a black, loamy, friable earth, and could not be easily formed into bricks without it. Amid the great ardour for Egyptian researches that has prevailed in this country of late, it is rather unaccountable that this pyramid should have been so neglected, for, from the manner in which it is mentioned by Herodotus, we should have imagined that it would have been one of the first that would have been examined. This is probably the pyramid of Asyches, the successor of Mycerinus, who was so much attached to brick, that he put on this pyramid an inscription, declaring that it was as much superior to those built of stone, as Jove was to the rest of the deities. It would be curious to observe how this lover of brick formed the roofs of the passages and chambers of his pyramid. If the arch were then known in Egypt, from such an avowed predilection for the material of straw and clay, I think we are almost warranted to infer that he would employ it in preference to large flat stones, as are done in the other pyramids. If, upon examination, the passages and chambers of this pyramid should be found arched, then there is an end of the question, whether or not the ancient Egyptians possessed any knowledge of the arch. If, on the contrary, they should be found covered with flat stones, it would furnish a strong presumption that the arch was not known in

Egypt at that time. There are also some brick pyramids in the Fayoum, which might be examined for a similar purpose. Vol. II. pp. 146, 7.

The rocky flat extending all the way between Sakkareh and Abousir, is covered with pyramids of smaller dimensions, both of brick and stone, some of which are in so ruinous a state as to appear a mere heap of dust. Attached to the modern village of Metraheny, is an immense field of ruins, supposed to be part of the ancient Memphis. The village of Gheeza cannot for a moment, our Author thinks, support its claim to that honour. At Abousir, there are three large pyramids, but inferior in magnitude to those at Sakkareh or Dahschour; they are surrounded with tumuli, and seem to sanction the notion that this was 'the burial-ground of both kings and people,' attached to the second city in the kingdom.

If any stress could be laid on etymological arguments, the pyramid, both in its form, and in one of its supposed purposes, might seem to bear some relation to the fire-worship of Persia; the country from which Egypt received its earliest conquerors, and between whose religious institutions and those of the worshippers of Apis, there existed an opposition sufficient to produce a strong antipathy. The strange fancy, that they were built as granaries in the days of Joseph, has, however, borrowed plausibility from the same all-accommodating aid of etymology; while even Pharoah's name, by passing through a language or two, has been made to supply the place of *corn* or *fire* in the first syllable of the appellative.* It is a most magnificent idea, which makes them at once sepulchres and altars, their platforms forming a hearth for the sacred fire. But the multiplication of these structures somewhat interferes with this hypothesis, and tends to bring them down, in our imagination, to the more vulgar level of mere mausolea. In support, however, of their affinity to Persian antiquities, it may be remarked, that the ruins on the summit of the Atesh-gah on the banks of the Zeinderood, exhibit precisely the same sort of building which Dr. Richardson describes, mud bricks baked in the sun, only with layers of reeds instead of straw; while a recent traveller has been led, by the resemblances he observed in the remains of Persepolis to the architectural taste of Egypt, to

* 'Some derive the word from *πυρος* *wheat*, and *αμαω*, *colligo*: pretending that the first pyramids were built by the patriarch Joseph for granaries. But Villarpandus, with much better reason, derives the word from *πυρ*, *fire*. Wilkins, conversant with the Coptic tongue, suggests another derivation from that language, of *pouro*, a king, and *misi*, a race or generation.' Rees's Cyclopædia.

infer that that splendid capital was enriched with the spoils of Thebes, in the reign of Cambyses, and that the monarch 'accompanied the spoil with Egyptian workmen.*' We should amazingly like to discover a pyramid or two in Persia.

Modern discoveries make strange havoc with imagined facts and poetical fancies and phrases. The reader will doubtless be startled, and feel that violence is done to all his classic recollections, when he is told that the Egyptian sphinx is a male. The red colour, does not, indeed, sufficiently characterize the sex; but, remarks our Author, 'the beard found between its paws, leaves little doubt on that point.'

'The lower part of this venerable piece of antiquity, which had for ages lain buried under a load of sand, had been, a few months before, uncovered by the exertions of Captain Caviglia, with the assistance of two other gentlemen. At the time, however, that we visited it, the Arabs and the wind had replaced the greater part of this covering, and the lower extremities of the Sphinx were equally invisible as before his operations. The breast, shoulders, neck, and head, which are those of a human being, remain uncovered, as also the back, which is that of a lion; the neck is very much eroded, and, to a person near, the head seems as if it were too heavy for its support. The head-dress has the appearance of an old-fashioned wig, or periwig, projecting out about the ears, like the hair of the Berberi Arabs: the ears project considerably, the nose is broken. The whole face has been painted red, which is the colour assigned to the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, and to all the deities of the country, *except Osiris*. The features are Nubian, or what, from ancient representations, may be called Egyptian, which is quite different from the negro feature. The expression is particularly placid and benign; so much so, that the worshipper of the Sphinx might hold up his god as superior to all the other gods of wood or stone which the blinded nations worshipped. The whole of it is cut out of the rock, which is calcareous, easily sectile, and abounding in small bivalve shells, and probably the large excavations in front, and on each side of it, furnished part of the stones for the building of the pyramids. There was no opening found in the body of the Sphinx, whereby to ascertain whether it is hollow or not. The back is about 120 feet long; the elevation of the head from 30 to 35 feet above the sand; the paws were said to stretch out on the platform in front of it, to the distance of 50 feet. Between the paws were found the remains of a trilithic temple, adorned with hieroglyphics. In front of the temple was a granite altar, with four horns, one of which remained, and the marks of fire, from the burning of incense, were visible upon it. Several Greek inscriptions were found on the paws of the Sphinx, but none of them older than the second century.' Vol. I. pp. 153, 4.

* Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. xvi. Art. *Porter's Travels*, pp. 316-18.

Here, in the style of sculpture, an art so wholly distinct from that of masonry, in the physiognomy, and in the hieroglyphics, we recognise again the native Egyptian character, and feel it more than ever difficult to refer to the same people the pyramids and the Sphinx. The most important fact established by the uncovering of the *abou el hól*, or father of terrors, as the Arabs call the Sphinx, is, that writing in the hieroglyphic or sacred character of the Egyptians, was used in the second century.

Before leaving Cairo for Upper Egypt, Dr. Richardson had the melancholy satisfaction of rendering his utmost professional aid to poor Burckhardt, in his last illness, attending him till his death. We have a very minute and accurate account, in these volumes, of the temples and excavations already familiarized to the public by the labours of Belzoni, whose merits as an antiquary and correct writer, are not, however, quite equal to his claims as an operator. Dr. Richardson's remarks will be read with much interest. The Temple of Dandera (Tentyra), he is of opinion, 'was built in the time of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt, and repaired in the time of the Romans.' The supposed zodiac is minutely described, and the absurdity of the hypothesis ably exposed, on which modern infidelity has attempted to construct an objection against the Scripture chronology. The result is, that the whole assemblage of devices 'is a mythological exhibition of the most interesting objects in the Egyptian theology, without having any reference to astronomy whatever.' The same remark applies with equal force to the zodiacs at Esneh and at Dair.

Dr. Richardson's explanation of the procession which forms so striking an object among the wonders of Biban el Melook, differs from that given by Mr. Belzoni and his learned expositor. Instead of four groupes of captives, consisting of Persians, Ethiopians, Jews, and Egyptians, Dr. R. considers the very prominent personages alluded to, as four orders of Theban priests, joined in procession according to their precedency of rank. His reasoning is rather more ingenious than satisfactory; but they certainly look more like priests or nobles than dejected captives. The disgusting representation of the three headless men, and the erect serpent, our Author regards as meant, undoubtedly, for a human sacrifice to the serpent-god, affording a decisive proof of the prevalence of *ophelatria*, or serpent worship in Egypt. The narrow passage which goes off from under the sarcophagus, and which Mr. Belzoni pursued to the distance of 300 feet, Dr. R. is of opinion, from the quantity of bat's dung found in it, will prove to end in a common passage running completely through the mountain: it must at least communicate with the open air, as the bats could not have

entered from the tomb. The direction in which it runs, would seem to sanction the conjecture that it ends in a ruined temple at Northern Dair, designed to conceal the entrance. Mr. Jowett subsequently visited these many-chambered tombs of the kings, if tombs they be, and his comment is striking.

' The scene brings many allusions of Scripture to the mind; such as Mark v. 2, 3, 5; but particularly Isaiah xxii. 16. "Thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth a habitation for himself in a rock." For many of the smaller sepulchres are excavated nearly half way up the mountain, which is very high. The kings have their magnificent abodes nearer the foot of the mountain; and seem, according to Isaiah xiv. 18, to have taken a pride in resting as magnificently in death as they had done in life—"All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory; every one in his own house." The stuccoed walls within are covered with hieroglyphics. They cannot be better described than in the words of Ezek. viii. 8, 10. "Then said he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, go in; and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw; and behold, every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed on the wall round about." The Israelites were but copyists: the master sketches are to be seen in all the ancient temples and tombs of Egypt.' pp. 133, 4.

Assouan, the ancient Syene,* is the southern frontier town of ancient Egypt; the last, in this direction, in which the Arabic is spoken as the vernacular tongue. The river is here divided by the beautiful island of Elephantina, called the island of Assouan, the island of Arte, and el Sag: it is about 2000 feet long and 600 broad. On the Northern end are the ruins of Roman fortifications, and other memorials referrible to the same nation.

' Many broken pieces of red earthen ware, shreds of the potsberd, are found, which appear to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portion of corn. The name of Antoninus was found on some of them. They are written in Greek, and in black; in a running-hand very similar to that which is used in a Greek letter at this day. They are in small pieces, about half the size of a man's hand; and each one appears complete, though it is difficult to decipher them. This seems to illustrate Ezek. iv. 1.' Jowett, p. 140.

The island is entirely inhabited by Nubians, perfectly black,

* Ezek xxix. 10. xxx. 6. "I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia." For so the passage should be rendered.

but differing essentially from the Negro, in the smallness of their lips, aquiline nose, and an expression of countenance sweet and animated, and 'bearing a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians.' The inhabitants of Assouan are of the Arab race, but swarthy; 'partly,' says Dr. Richardson, 'from the climate, and partly from a mixture of Nubian blood.' They are of a strong, healthy appearance, greatly superior to the Nubians.

'I saw here,' adds Dr. R., 'several families that seemed to belong to a third race, differing both in complexion and features from the inhabitants of Assouan and Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany; approaching nearer both in feature and complexion to that which is called the head of the young Memnon, and to the figures in the lately discovered tomb in the valley of Biban el Melook, than any of the human race that ever fell under my observation. They are as different from the Copts in Egypt, both in hue and feature, as a Hindoo is from a Frenchman.'

The children of both sexes here, and in the other villages, run about completely naked. Between Ishkid and Absambul, the barren scenery is diversified with a prodigious number of pyramidal mounds, some of which are artificial and have doors on the side; some natural, though shaped in some measure by art; their forms are either quite conical or truncated. 'The stream of pyramids,' says Dr. R., 'like the stream of civilization, appears to have descended the Nile.' We cannot follow Dr. Richardson minutely in his exploration of the Nubian temples. The Earl of Belmore has the honour of being the first English nobleman who ever ascended the Nile to the Second Cataract; but ancient Ethiopia lay far beyond, invested with all the mysterious interest of a geographical enigma. Nubia appears to be a term of doubtful application. The name now distinguishes a tract of country, on each side the Nile, about 400 miles in length, extending from Assouan to Saie. From Cairo, indeed, to the Second Cataract, the valley of the Nile forms 'one vast parallelogram of seven or eight hundred miles a side, bounded on each side by a low mountain range,' and enjoying the finest climate in the world. 'Nothing,' says Dr. R., 'can exceed the mornings and evenings in Nubia. The air is light, and clear, and cool. All of us had seen the skies of Italy and Greece; but for brightness, the nocturnal sky of Egypt and Nubia surpasses them all, as much as they do that of England.'

A very minute description of Thebes, illustrated by an ichnographical plan, forms not the least valuable portion of Dr. Richardson's second volume; but on this seductive topic we must not trust ourselves to enter. They devoted nearly a

month to exploring its magnificent ruins. The vocal Memnon still sits to watch the rising and the setting sun; and the report of his musical powers is still preserved in the country: the Arabs call it *Salamat*, or the statue that bids good morning. But our Author listened for the magic voice in vain. The name of the hundred-gated city, he thinks, is to be discovered in that of the village of Medina Thabou; and Goshen, he is disposed to identify, on stronger grounds than a distant resemblance in the name, with Gheeza, the district containing Memphis.

Here we must take leave of this interesting and intelligent Traveller, whose volumes form, certainly, one of the most valuable additions that have recently been made to our topographical literature. They abound with illustrations both of sacred and profane history, and every where exhibit marks of an enlightened, reflective, and pious mind. Our extracts will have shewn that Dr. Richardson is capable of writing in a very nervous and impressive style; yet, it is evident that authorship has not been his profession, and in the next edition, we should be glad to notice some corrections and a few retrenchments. While true simplicity of mind is displayed in the sentiments, the style is not always equally unaffected, but occasionally partakes too much of the florid. But how can this be objected to in an author fresh from the East? The palmary excellence of his work is, that we feel we can depend upon his statements; and this, even should it not immediately obtain the extensive circulation gained by the works of some fortunate predecessors, will ensure it a more permanent popularity.

Mr. Jowett's volume contains, in addition to the notices and remarks of which we have availed ourselves, much highly important information relative to the present state of the Greek, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches; the Jews and Mahommedans; the Ethiopic, Amharic, and Tigré versions of the Scriptures; the most eligible stations for Missionary labourers, and the best means of extending the influence of Christianity in the regions bordering on the Mediterranean. The topics are too multifarious for us to attempt a regular analysis of the volume, and our limits will not admit of further extracts. We must content ourselves with strongly recommending it to all those readers who are interested in the moral aspect of the world and the brightest prospects of humanity. Two neat maps are given, of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and the countries bordering on the Red Sea.

Art. V. *Italy*, a Poem. Part the First. fcp. 8vo. pp. 164. Price 7s.
London. 1822.

THIS volume contains eighteen sketches; the following are the subjects: The Lake of Geneva, The Great St. Bernard, The Descent, Jorasse, Margaret De Tours, The Alps, Como, Bergamo, Italy, Venice, Luigi, St. Mark's Place, The Brides of Venice, Foscari, Arqua, Ginevra, Florence, Don Garzia.

We shall give two entire specimens, leaving them to recommend themselves and the volume by the taste, and spirit, and graphical fidelity with which they are executed.

‘ THE GREAT ST. BERNARD.

‘ Night was again descending, when my mule,
That all day long had climbed among the clouds,
Stopped, to our mutual joy, at that low door
So near the summit of the Great St. Bernard;
That door which ever on its hinges moved
To them that knocked, and nightly sends abroad
Ministering spirits. Lying on the watch,
Two dogs of grave demeanour welcomed me;
And a lay-brother of the Hospital,
Who, as we toiled below, had heard by fits
The distant echoes gaining on his ear,
Came and held fast my stirrup in his hand,
While I alighted.

‘ Long could I have stood,
With a religious awe contemplating
That house, the highest in the Ancient World,
And placed there for the noblest purposes.
’Twas a rude pile of simplest masonry,
With narrow windows and vast buttresses,
Built to endure the shocks of Time and Chance;
Yet shewing many a rent, as well it might,
Warred on for ever by the elements,
And in an evil day, nor long ago,
By violent men—when on the mountain-top
The French and Austrian banners met in conflict.

‘ On the same rock beside it stood the church,
Rest of its cross, not of its sanctity;
The vesper bell, for ’twas the vesper-hour,
Duly proclaiming thro’ the wilderness,
“ All ye who hear, whatever be your work,
Stop for an instant—move your hips in prayer!”
And, just beneath it in that dreary dale,
If dale it might be called, so near to Heaven,
A little lake, where never fish leaped up,
Lay like a spot of ink amid the snow;
A star, the only one in that small sky,

On its dead surface glimmering. 'Twas a scene
 Resembling nothing I had left behind,
 As tho' all worldly ties were now dissolved;—
 And, to incline the mind still more to thought,
 To thought and sadness, on the eastern shore
 Under a beetling cliff stood half in shadow
 A lonely chapel destined for the dead,
 For such as having wandered from their way,
 Had perished miserably. Side by side,
 Within they lie, a mournful company,
 All in their shrouds, no earth to cover them;
 Their features full of life, yet motionless,
 In the broad day, nor soon to suffer change,
 Tho' the barred windows, barred against the wolf,
 Are always open!

' But the *Bise* blew cold;
 And, bidden to a spare but cheerful meal,
 I sate among the holy brotherhood
 At their long board. The fare indeed was such
 As is prescribed on days of abstinence,
 But might have pleased a nicer taste than mine,
 And thro' the floor came up; an ancient matron
 Serving unseen below; while from the roof
 (The roof, the floor, the walls of native fir,
 A lamp hung flickering, such as loves to fling
 Its partial light on Apostolic heads,
 And sheds a grace on all. Theirs Time as yet
 Had changed not. Some were almost in the prime;
 Nor was a brow o'ercast. - Seen as I saw them,
 Ranged round their hearth-stone in a leisure-hour,
 They were a simple and a merry race,
 Mingling small games of chance with social converse,
 And gathering news from all who came that way,
 As of some other world. But when the storm
 Rose, and the snow rolled on in ocean-billows,
 When on his face the experienced traveller fell,
 Sheltering his lips and nostrils with his hands,
 Then all at once was changed, and sallying forth
 Into that blank of nature, they became
 Unearthly beings. "Anselm, higher up
 The dog howls loud and long, and now, observe,
 Digs with his feet how eagerly! - A man,
 Dying or dead, lies buried underneath!
 Let us to work! there is no time to lose!
 But who descends Mont Velan? 'Tis La Croix.
 Away, away! if not, alas, too late.
 Homeward he drags an old man and a boy,
 Faltering and falling, and but half awakened,
 Asking to sleep again." Such their discourse." pp. 13—19.

ARQUA.

* THERE is, within three leagues and less of Padua,
 (The Paduan student knows it, honours it,)
 A lonely tomb-stone in a mountain churchyard;
 And I arrived there as the sun declined
 Low in the west. The gentle airs, that breathe
 Fragrance at eve, were rising, and the birds
 Singing their farewell-song—the very song
 They sung the night that tomb received a tenant;
 When, as alive, clothed in his Canon's habit,
 And slowly winding down the narrow path,
 He came to rest there. Nobles of the land,
 Princes and prelates mingled in his train,
 Anxious by any act, while yet they could,
 To catch a ray of glory by reflection;
 And from that hour have kindred spirits flocked
 From distant countries, from the north, the south,
 To see where he is laid.

* Twelve years ago,
 When I descended the impetuous Rhone,
 Its vineyards of such great and old renown,
 Its castles, each with some romantic tale,
 Vanishing fast—the pilot at the stern,
 He who had steered so long, standing aloft,
 His eyes on the white breakers, and his hands
 On what at once served him for oar and rudder,
 A huge misshapen plank—the bark itself
 Frail and uncouth, launched to return no more,
 Such as a shipwrecked man might hope to build,
 Urged by the love of home—when I descended
 Two long, long days, silence, suspense on board,
 It was to offer at thy fount, Valclusa,
 Entering the arched Cave, to wander where
 Petrarch had wandered, in a trance to sit
 Where in his peasant-dress he loved to sit,
 Musing, reciting—on some rock moss-grown,
 Or the fantastic root of some old fig-tree,
 That drinks the living waters as they stream
 Over their emerald-bed; and could I now
 Neglect to visit Arqua; where, at last,
 When he had done and settled with the world,
 When all the illusions of his Youth were fled,
 Indulged perhaps too long, cherished too fondly,
 He came for the conclusion? Half-way up
 He built his house, whence as by stealth he caught,
 Among the hills, a glimpse of busy life,
 That soothed, not stirred.—But knock, and enter in.
 This was his chamber. 'Tis as when he left it;
 As if he now were busy in his garden.
 And this his closet. Here he sate and read.

This was his chair ; and in it, unobserved,
 Reading or thinking of his absent friends,
 He passed away as in a quiet slumber.
 Peace to this region ! Peace to those who dwell here !
 They know his value—every coming step,
 That gathers round the children from their play,
 Would tell them if they knew not.—But could aught
 Ungentle or ungenerous, spring up
 Where he is sleeping ; where, and in an age
 Of savage warfare and blind bigotry,
 He cultured all that could refine, exalt ;
 Leading to better things ?" pp. 117—21.

Art. VI. *Europe, or, a General Survey of the Present Situation of the Principal Powers ; with Conjectures on their Future Prospects.* By a Citizen of the United States. 8vo. pp. 411. London. 1822.

IF the statesmen who were concerned in getting up the Treaty of Westphalia, were to rise from the dead, and to witness, at the present moment, the complete annihilation of the system which it cost them so much trouble and anxiety to construct, they would be strangely at a loss to account for the conduct of their successors. Were the great Earl of Chatham, or Frederick of Prussia, to re-appear on the scenes of their former glory, they would shudder with indignation at the subserviency which has permitted Russia to place herself in an attitude of such appalling menace to the liberties of Europe. The present Writer, whose views seem to be, in general, judicious and impartial, has set the impolicy of this conduct in a strong light ; and though there may be somewhat of exaggeration in his estimate of Muscovite power, yet, there is enough of unquestionable truth to excite the most serious apprehensions. When he affirms that ' not all Europe combined in opposition will be able to resist its progress,' should it assail the independence of other nations, we must be permitted to doubt his infallibility. But when he suggests, that ' the civilization of the Russian nobility created a new Macedon in the north of the modern Grecian commonwealths, and it only wants a Philip to be as fatal to the liberty of its neighbours as the other,'—he starts a comparison which has so much of the semblance, at least, of truth, as justly to awaken our alarm. Ever since the reign of Peter the Great, the aggrandisement of Russia has been steadily advancing. The command of the Baltic, the Euxine, and the Caspian, the complete subjugation and organization of the Cossacks, the acquisition of Courland, and finally the possession of Finland and Poland, have given her a position of terrible advantage both for attack and defence. We are not yet,

however, so destitute of trust in what we should term Divine Providence, but what modern politicians are accustomed to call 'the chapter of accidents,' as to ask with the Writer before us,—'When Constantinople shall be a Russian port, and Persia a Russian province, what will become of the British empire in India, and on the ocean ?'

This well-written volume takes a view of the present state of politics in Europe, in reference both to the general system and to the internal arrangements of single states. The Author's sentiments are liberal but moderate. After having gone the whole round of his appointed survey, he finishes, as might have been expected, by claiming for his own federal republic, the *ne plus ultra* of enlightened government. It is, however, obvious enough, that the experiment has not yet been fairly tried; that the system which may be sufficient for an infant or a rising commonwealth, may fail in its application to a more dense and complicated state of society. The inconveniences of their scheme of association have never yet pressed upon the American population; and it remains to be seen, whether their institutions are as well suited to the difficulties, as they have been found effectual in the ordinary transactions of general administration.

The internal state of France has varied since this work was written; and much of what might be correct at the date of its completion in Sept. 1821, is now inapplicable to the high-handed *ultraism* of the French government. We agree, notwithstanding this, with the Writer, in the view which he takes of the auspicious situation of our neighbours, on the whole, though there are many circumstances which might justify less favourable prognostics. He observes, and justly, that France is the arena on which the two great European interests—the liberal and the servile—may be considered as fairly confronted. The sentiment of the nation is evidently with the former; and if there were no other motive for jealousy of the emigrant party, the state of landed possessions would be amply sufficient. 'Property must change hands,' was the maxim of the Revolution; and its restoration is the very natural but very impolitic petition of the old proprietors. Hence a continual feeling of irritation in the minds of both parties; and hence the antipathy with which a large and formidable body in the nation regards the men who surround the throne. The French press is no longer in the same state as when this work was composed; but the Author's sentiments respecting the principal writers who influence the public mind, are equally applicable to the present moment. While M. de Cazes was in power, the press was substantially free, and the respectable journals on either side

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were conducted with as much ability and regard to general decorum as those of England or America. The two periodical pamphlets, the *Conservateur*, conducted by Chateaubriand, and the *Minerve*, edited by Benjamin Constant, occupied the same rank in public opinion as the Edinburgh and the Quarterly Reviews in our own country. Of these two opponents, the first is the most animated writer; the second, the clearest thinker. On the imposition of the censorship, they both threw up their publications.

Beside these, there were other political writers of merit, who laboured in general in a larger sphere of action, and contributed but rarely, if ever, to the journals. The liberal party had just sustained a severe loss in the most celebrated of its literary champions; Madame de Stael, the first of female writers, always animated by a truly liberal spirit, although her views on particular subjects were often warped by the warmth of her feelings, and the liveliness of her imagination, from the strict line of truth. M. de Pradt was still left to supply her place with greater activity, if not with equal talent; a politician who, to use his own facetious phrase, has assisted *extra muros* at all the congresses which have been held in Europe, since that of Rastadt; in some respects the most remarkable writer of pamphlets that has appeared since the time of Burke; but without any pretensions to his force of language or logic, although engaged in a juster and more generous cause. At a later period, M. Guizot distinguished himself by a publication to which I have already alluded, and which created in France more sensation than any single political work that has appeared since the king's return. On the opposite side, the most distinguished writer after Chateaubriand was the Viscount de Bonald, pronounced by Madame de Stael to be the *philosopher of anti-philosophy*. His style has too much of the obscurity from which her's was not always free, and none of the poetical colouring with which she redeemed that and her other faults. The only quality that gives his writings any flavour, is a strong infusion of bitterness. The Abbé de la Mennais is much before him in point of style. He treats political subjects entirely in a theological point of view, and of course only in the most general and abstract form, except where measures relating to the church are under discussion. Two or three foreigners, who write in French, and publish at Paris, have acquired some distinction on the same side. M. de Hafler, late a member of the republican government of Berne, claims the honourable title of the modern Bacon. He is publishing a voluminous work, entitled the *Restoration of Political Science*, which, he asserts us elsewhere, is exciting a profound sensation throughout Europe, and appears destined to produce the most important results. This person has lately been converted from the Protestant to the Catholic faith, and has thereby lost his place in the government of Berne. In the pamphlet in which he gives an account of this event, he states expressly, that he looks upon himself as specially raised up by Providence, to effect a great Reformation in Europe; the consummation of

which is to be the return of all wandering Protestant sheep to the Catholic fold. Lastly, the late Count de Maistre, formerly minister plenipotentiary in Russia, and afterwards minister of state in the service of the King of Sardinia, has defended, in a variety of publications, the doctrines of orthodoxy in religion and politics, which are now generally coupled together by their champions, the former meaning popery. Of what use, he inquires in one of these works, are general councils to bring back heretics to the faith? Is not the pillory sufficient? This passage may give the measure of his liberality and humanity. His books, however, are printed in various languages, and circulated gratis by the religious associations on the continent.' pp. 97—99.

Spain and Portugal occupy but little space in this Writer's pages. He vindicates the appointment of a single assembly, to the exclusion of an aristocratic senate, but objects with reason to the mode in which ministers are made accountable to the Cortes in all stages of their administration; and strongly condemns the absurd regulation which makes the members of the existing legislature ineligible for the next election. This was the rock on which the first leaders of the French Revolution wrecked their hopeful venture: they retired from the political field just at the important period when their talents and patriotism were most urgently requisite, and they left their work to be completed by a set of reckless and selfish adventurers, whose element was confusion, and whose sole object the acquisition of wealth and power.

Respecting Italy and Greece, the Writer concludes a brief but pithy chapter, with the expression of his hope, that the day

'is not now very far remote when the civilization of Europe will overflow its present limits, and carry wealth and happiness through the whole of those delightful, but desolate regions that embosom the Mediterranean. Could the Christian powers but act together for good, with as much cordiality as they often do for evil, the regeneration of these countries might be accomplished almost without an effort. The expense which has lately been so miserably employed in crushing the liberal institutions of Naples, would, under such circumstances, have been sufficient to establish them in every part of the domains of Islamism.' p. 132.

We must decline the task of following the 'Citizen of the United States' through his interesting remarks on the policy of the German and Northern States; having, indeed, partly anticipated, in our prefatory observations, the comments which we might otherwise have made in this place. We shall, therefore, only express our regret that the following note should have found a niche here, in connexion with a just reprobation of the bombardment of the Danish capital.

'The author of a work lately published in England, entitled, "An

Account of the Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans, by a British officer," has undertaken to represent this outrage as a just retaliation upon the Americans for the murder of General Ross's horse, shot, as he says, from a window in the city of Washington, observing at the same time, that all the persons found in the house were previously put to the sword, to satisfy the *manes* of this implacable animal. A British officer has other things to study besides the law of nature and nations, and may not be aware that had General Ross himself been shot from a window, instead of his horse, those proceedings would not have been a whit more justifiable either in right or usage. But any man of common humanity, however ignorant of law, would have revolted at the idea of sacrificing a house full of innocent people, and burning down several magnificent public buildings, to expiate the death of a quadruped. This would have been something worse than the madness of the Roman emperor, who appointed his horse consul. There is reason to hope, and even to believe, that the motive assigned by the British officer was not the real one; but as he has undertaken to justify the measure on this ground, he is entitled to an equal degree of credit for good sense and good feelings, whether his account is correct or not.' p. 215.

Now, though we by no means vindicate the system of reprisal which dictated the destruction of the 'public buildings' of Washington, yet, we have always understood, that in this paltry warfare, the Americans, on the Canada frontier, led the way. But without insisting on this comparatively immaterial point, we cannot refrain from adverting to the miserable spirit of misrepresentation which pervades this paragraph. It was in retaliation, says our Author, 'for the murder of General Ross's horse.' If this statement were correct, which we much doubt, we presume that no one will question but that the shot which struck the horse, was aimed at the rider; and we apprehend that, in military usage, an attempt of this kind is invariably visited with severe and summary vengeance; whether justly or not, it is beyond our province to decide.

In the observations on the state of things in Great Britain, there is some striking matter mingled with much that is common-place. Adverting to the prosecutions which have been carried on against obnoxious publications, and admitting that the suppression of such violations of truth and decency, is 'an act of substantial justice,' the Writer objects to these proceedings on the score of expediency. He states that he first learnt from the trial of Carlile, that two or three editions of the works of Paine had been published in America; that he never saw a copy in a bookseller's shop, and that he has met with 'very few in private collections.' In fact, 'they are never heard of' in the United States, and excite no interest, because

they are fairly left to take their chance for popularity or obscurity.

The description of the aspect which England, as a sort of Father-land, presents to the eye of an American, is skilfully done, much in the style of Washington Irving.

'The misery that exists, whatever it may be, retires from public view; and the traveller sees no traces of it, except in the beggars, which are not more numerous than they are on the continent, in the courts of justice, and in the newspapers. On the contrary, the impressions he receives from the objects that meet his view are almost uniformly agreeable. He is pleased with the great attention paid to his personal accommodation as a traveller, with the excellent roads, and the convenience of the public carriages and inns. The country every where exhibits the appearance of high cultivation, or else of wild and picturesque beauty; and even the unimproved lands are disposed with taste and skill; so as to embellish the landscape very highly, if they do not contribute as they might to the substantial comfort of the people. From every eminence, extensive parks and grounds, spreading far and wide over hill and vale, interspersed with dark woods, and variegated with bright waters, unroll themselves before the eye, like enchanted gardens. And while the elegant constructions of the modern proprietors fill the mind with images of ease and luxury, the mouldering ruins that remain from former ages of the castles and churches of their feudal ancestors, increase the interest of the picture by contrast, and associate with it poetical and affecting recollections of other times and manners. Every village seems to be the chosen residence of industry, and her handmaids, neatness and comfort; and in the various parts of the island, her operations present themselves under the most amusing and agreeable variety of forms. Sometimes her votaries are mounting to the skies in manufactories of innumerable stories in height, and sometimes diving in mines into the bowels of the earth, or dragging up drowned treasures from the bottom of the sea. At one time the ornamented grounds of a wealthy proprietor seem to realise the fabled Elysium; and again, as you pass in the evening through some village engaged in the iron manufacture, where a thousand forges are feeding at once their dark red fires, and clouding the air with their volumes of smoke, you might think yourself for a moment a little too near some drearier residence.'

pp. 288, 9.

After striking sketches of Oxford, with its collegiate palaces, seeming 'the deserted capital of some departed race of giants;' of Liverpool, 'all bustle, brick, and business;' of Stonehenge, with its immense masses of rock 'wrought and moved' by semi-barbarians; of the 'ancient forts upon the Ohio, on whose ruins the third growth of trees is now more than four hundred years old;' and of our ruined castles and cathedrals, 'putting on their dark green robes of ivy to conceal the ravages of time;' he goes on as follows:

'What a beautiful and brilliant vision was this Gothic architecture, shining out as it did from the deepest darkness of feudal barbarism! And here again, by what fatality has it happened that the moderns, with all their civilization and improved taste, have been as utterly unsuccessful in rivalling the divine simplicity of the Greeks, as the rude grandeur of the Cyclopeans and ancient Egyptians? Since the revival of art in Europe, the builders have confined themselves wholly to a graceless and unsuccessful imitation of ancient models. Strange that the only new architectural conception of any value subsequent to the time of Phidias, should have been struck out at the worst period of society that has since occurred. Sometimes the moderns, in their laborious poverty of invention, heap up small materials in large masses, and think that St. Peter's or St. Paul's will be as much more sublime than the Parthenon, as they are larger: at others, they condescend to a servile imitation of the wild and native graces of the Gothic; as the Chinese, in their stupid ignorance of perspective, can still copy line by line, and point by point, a European picture. But the Norman castles and churches, with all their richness and sublimity, fell with the power of their owners at the rise of the commonwealth. The independents were levellers of substance as well as form, and the material traces they left of their existence, are the ruins of what their predecessors had built. They, too, had an architecture, but it was not in wood nor in stone. It was enough for them to lay the foundation of the nobler fabric of civil liberty.' pp. 292, 3.

The old and new towns of Edinburgh, are pleasantly compared to Fitzjames and Roderick Dhu, 'reposing on the same plaid.'

One of the few weak points of the present volume, lies in the attempt to identify the conduct of the British Government, in urging on the attention of the American Administration the palpable evasions of the laws against the slave-trade, by citizens of the United States, with what *would be* the impertinence of the Cabinet of Washington in dictating to England the suppression of the practice of Impressment. Does the Writer mean to say, that the foreign slave-trade can, in any sense whatever, be considered as a mere matter of domestic regulation? Yet, in what other light can he possibly view our indefensible practice of maritime conscription? His sentiments on the subject of Bible and Missionary societies are of very equivocal friendliness. He approves of them warmly, but simply as promoters of a more enlightened polity. Of the missionaries themselves, this modest gentleman speaks in scorn, as unacquainted with the 'true character and spirit' of the Bible,—as 'pioneers of civilization,' pushing 'forward where wiser men have no motive to advance, and where their wisdom would be of little service if they went.' All this, however, is only ridiculous; but when he intimates that 'the first crop

shown by these excellent men, may prove 'poisonous instead of nutritive,' we are at a loss whether to express contempt of his flippancy, or pity for that perverseness of head and heart, which can apply such language to the preaching of the Gospel. With this *illuminé*, a supercargo is worthy of all honour, and a scientific traveller excites his highest admiration; while a missionary is a 'burlesque apostle,' and the preaching of the Cross 'error and delusion.'

Art. VII. *Observations on the Ruinous Tendency of the Spitalfields Act to the Silk Manufacture of London:* to which is added, a Reply to Mr. Hale's Appeal to the Public in Defence of the Act. Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 102. London. 1822.

JUSTICE to the Author of this Reply requires us to notice it as containing the *alteram partem* in the discussion of the particular measure in question. Into the personal dispute, however, between this Writer and Mr. Hale, we must decline to enter; but we regret to notice the unnecessary warmth and asperity with which that gentleman's statements are controverted.

The Writer has done us the honour to refer to the short notice of Mr. Hale's pamphlet which appeared in our Number for March, accusing the Reviewer of having 'fallen into the error of confounding *value* with *cost of production*.' The Reviewer has done no such thing: on the contrary, he has pointed out the equivocal meaning and different acceptation of the word *value*. On this subject, our readers may have in recollection, that we treated more at large in our review of Mr. Malthus's work, referred to by this Writer;* in which we shewed, that the cost of production is, and must be, the basis of exchangeable value. To restrict the word *value* to market price, is mere affectation. The word is constantly used by the best writers in other senses; and in fact, value in use, cost of production, and scarcity, all enter, as elements, into the relative exchangeable value of articles. That markets are governed by supply and demand, no one has been found to question. Neither has Mr. Ricardo, nor Mr. Hale, hinted a doubt on that subject; and Mr. Malthus never would have written a book to prove what is so well established. That exchangeable value may fall for a time below the cost of production, is also too well known to be disputed. But to speak of it as therefore independent of the cost of production, is palpably incorrect; for the excess of

* Eclectic Review. Vol. XVI. p. 74, et seq.

supply being removed, the exchangeable value will rise to its natural measure, which is no other than the cost. The cost of an article, that is, the labour realised in the commodity, may therefore be properly considered as its natural value, to which the market price, or variable exchangeable value, may more or less approximate.

But further, no one doubts that wages, if left to themselves, will be regulated, like the price of commodities, by supply and demand. But to call labour a commodity on that account, and to confound it with other commodities, is an affectation of science, which has led to the most pernicious and heartless manner both of thinking and acting. It is making an analogy a pretence for confounding together things as different as property and life; the one a tangible, consumable article, the other a mere abstraction—the physical capacity of the human being, the product of blood and muscle. If the market price of a commodity is depressed below that remunerating price at which it can continue to be furnished, a temporary suspension of profit, the loss of a per-centage, or, at the worst, a diminution of capital is the result. But in most cases, a mere fall of profits, long before actual loss is sustained, will diminish the excessive supply, so as to restore things to their proper exchangeable value. But if the wages of labour are depressed below the means of subsistence, what is the consequence? Can the supply be withdrawn? In a country in which there is no actual redundancy of population, this may take place: the local excess of hands may find other employment. But in an over-peopled country, the excess of supply cannot be withdrawn, unless by emigration or extermination. It is very well for politicians to talk coolly of either expedient; but, in plain language, as the commodity in excess is, life, sentient happiness, it is this which must be diminished in order to restore the market price of labour to a level with the means of subsistence. The producers of this superfluous commodity—labour, must be shipped off, or must die off, before the manufacturer or agriculturist will be forced to give the wages requisite for the maintenance of the labourer. This is the doctrine of *Laissez-faire*; this is leaving things to find their level. It is true, that, in this country, something comes in the way of this delectable consummation; that something is, the Poor Laws, which, however, our modern politicians by common consent vote to be a nuisance. These intercept the tide of emigration, and prevent the actual extinction of life, in cases in which the market-price of labour has fallen below the means of subsistence; and thus the agriculturist, and in many cases the manufacturer, is

enabled to keep on purchasing labour at a price below the cost of production, the difference being made up by the country.

Now, putting the Silk Trade out of the question, to which these remarks may or may not be applicable, we must maintain, that where a *permanent* depression of the wages of labour below the means of subsistence is found to prevail, the Legislature, if no other remedy presents itself, has good reason to interfere. It does interfere in the shape of the Poor Laws; and if these did not exist, it would be the more necessary to interfere in some other way. It interferes to prohibit and punish combinations among the poor; it may with quite as good reason interfere to protect the poor from the combinations of the rich. The particular measure which is resorted to, may be objectionable or non-efficient; but we know of no sound principle on which the interference of the State can be shewn to be in itself unwise. The primary object of all government is the protection of individual life and property. How, then, can it be said that Government departs from its proper province, when it interferes simply for this purpose,—to protect the property of the poor man, which is his labour, and when that labour is his life? What would be the character of laws that should prohibit mendicity, and punish the vagrant, while they withheld a provision from the pauper, and protection from the labourer? If trade and commerce could dispense with the protection of the laws altogether, then it would be all fair to deprecate legislative interference. But, as matters are, the objection, to be made good, must lie against the particular measure, not against the general principle of State interference. And if it is ever wrong, by subjecting to restrictions the wages of labour, to interpose in the bargain between the workman and his employer, it must be, not merely because supply and demand will *ultimately* accommodate themselves to each other in the case of superfluous labour, but because the facts of the case supply an experimental reason against the proposed remedy.

These Observations are written with considerable ability, and display an extensive knowledge of the circumstances of the Silk-Trade. The correctness of the Writer's statements and the force of his reasonings, will before long be brought to the test, as the subject is likely again to undergo parliamentary discussion.

Art. VIII. *The Triple Aim : or the Improvement of Leisure, Friendship, and Intellect, attempted in Epistolary Correspondence.* 8vo. pp. 443. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1821.

THESE letters are evidently the production of a reflecting mind, and without possessing any peculiar claims to originality of sentiment or vivacity of composition, exhibit proofs of talent and cultivation. The contents are miscellaneous, generally of a serious and argumentative cast, and, excepting in certain parts, where the references are unpleasantly indistinct, and in a few others, where the reasoning is somewhat inefficient, we have been gratified by their perusal. We are, however, much afraid that they will not suit the general taste. The public is fastidious, and the volume is rather heavy. With these defects, the book has substantial good qualities; and if it had been cut down to a less formidable size, it would have had a much fairer claim to popularity than half the flimsy productions which gain currency in the present day. Somewhat less of a tendency to what some may think cavilling, and a more cautious avoidance of common-place speculations and obvious distinctions, together with some regard paid to compression, would have given these letters a much stronger hold upon the attention. The following is a favourable specimen of the contents.

‘ As indecision has its origin in guilty fear; so it is fostered by opposite interests. It lives in the field of battle; and its only employ is to make overtures to that, which at different times, and on various accounts, it views as the strongest side. But as one side only shall finally prevail, it cannot be a matter of indifference which we take. The contest between sin and holiness is not a beating the air; one must bring the other into entire and everlasting subjection. Rome must conquer Carthage, or Carthage will ruin Rome. It admits neither of a peace, nor a truce. It is a war of extermination. Nor is the result doubtful; for truth is great, and must prevail. Who then is on the Lord’s side?

‘ Christian decision seems to consist of two parts; a being indeed on the Lord’s side, and a public avowal of the fact. The former, without the latter, would be cowardice; the latter, without the former, would be hypocrisy. This is a subject of great importance. If we could impress it more deeply on the minds of our younger friends, and on our own, it would be a happy circumstance. There are three things which render decision, on this point, unspeakably important.

‘ The first is, the nature of the contest, which is moral. It is not a controversy about the properties of matter, or the magnitude and distance of the heavenly bodies, or the respective advantages of different forms of government. It is a contest, whether sin or holiness, truth or error, happiness or misery, shall prevail: whether our rightful sovereign and kind benefactor, or the usurper and destroyer, shall reign over us; whether the Lord of heaven and earth shall abdicate

his throne, or whether the prince of this world shall be judged, and cast out. It is a contest in which are engaged, on one side, all the vices,—every thing that is infamous, odious, and wretched; and on the other, all the virtues,—every thing that is dignified, amiable, and happy; a contest which involves all that is important to the honour of God, and dear to the interests of man.

‘It is important, still further, not only on account of the moral nature of the controversy, but also because we must all take a personal part in it. In this war there is no discharge. Some things are important to nations and communities, which are not equally so to individuals. But here all must determine, and take sides; here all are alike interested. There is no neutral ground or character; the ground is all occupied, and every person, whether he will acknowledge it or not, is really engaged. To continue, as we think, undecided, is to remain in our natural state, and that is a state of enmity. Indecision, in the estimation of Christ himself, is opposition; “he that is not with me is against me.”

‘But it is most of all important, because the part which we take involves our everlasting destiny. There are some things which in themselves are important, and which concern us as individuals, which yet are but of small moment, comparatively speaking, as they affect us but for a short time. The duration of a thing goes very far towards fixing its nature. A high gratification, if only for a moment, would scarcely deserve the name; while a small inconvenience, if perpetuated, will become almost intolerable. Whatever involves interminable consequences is of infinite importance, because it affects an endless existence.’ pp. 436—39.

There are two or three of the letters which have puzzled us inconceivably, from the strange way in which the subject is mystified behind a ‘nebulous nebulosity’ of asterisks.

Art. IX. *The Works of Virgil*, translated into English Verse, by John Dryden. An improved edition, by John Carey, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 853. Price 21s. London. 1819.

WITHOUT inquiring how far Dryden's translation may be considered as an accurate or felicitous representation of the peculiar manner and feeling of Virgil, there can be no difference of opinion respecting its intrinsic value. Though the rich and continuous flow of Dryden's versification might be better suited to the romantic tales in which his most successful efforts are to be found, yet it appears, on the whole, to great advantage in the noble series of poems which is here, for the first time, presented to the public in a correct state. Dryden, it is well known, wrote too much on the spur, to pay proper attention to the revision of his own compositions; and still less was he of an humour to occupy much time in the examination

of proof sheets ; hence have arisen innumerable errors, passing from one edition to another, until they have become absolutely identified with the original text. This seems to have been especially the case in the instance before us, if we may form our judgement from the formidable list of errata which attests the skill and diligence of Dr. Carey. Dryden himself had to apologize for a 'careless amanuensis ;' and his present Editor, who has had occasion to inspect closely the original publications, speaks with contempt of the printer's 'wretched and 'bungling execution.'

In the year 1803, an edition of Dryden's Virgilian translations was published under the superintendence of Dr. Carey, who exercised his accustomed vigilance and acuteness in the purification of the text from the gross errors with which it was charged. It was not, however, until he had made a considerable advance towards the completion of his task, that he obtained possession of the folios of the first and second edition ; without which he was unable to effect many improvements, for the insertion of which it was indispensable to have the means of such specific reference. In 1806, another publication of the same work took place, but without the renewed inspection of Dr. Carey, and consequently without further emendation. The volumes before us are the result of a new and careful collation of the original copies. We have taken some pains in the examination of the notes and corrections, and have no hesitation in giving our recommendation to the work as an accurate and able restoration of Dryden's text. It contains all his prefaces, dedications, and notes, with the addition of a valuable critical apparatus by Dr. Carey, more of whose suggestions in the way of conjectural emendation might have been inserted in their proper places, but for his meritorious jealousy of tampering with Dryden's language. Many useful hints respecting prosody are interspersed in Dr. C.'s notes.

Art. X. *Verses on the Death of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. By Bernard Barton. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1822.

OF Mr. Shelley's works, *Alastor*, *Queen Mab*, the *Revolt of Islam*, *Rosalind and Helen*, and *The Cenci*, not one, we imagine, has had the good fortune to obtain purchasers sufficient to cover the cost of paper and print. Yet, few persons can have failed to hear of their unhappy Author ; so different is notoriety from fame ! The petition in the Chancery Court, which denounced Mr. Shelley as a professed atheist, first brought him before the public ; and since then, his name has repeatedly occurred in connexion with those of Lord Byron,

Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, and other apostles of the last and lowest school of infidelity. The Quarterly Reviewers lent their aid to lash his publications into notice. But still, his works have remained unread and unreadable. Beyond the *coterie* in which his liberal principles have procured for his productions an admiration far above their real merits, the genius of Mr. Shelley has only been '*seen by hear-say.*' The public have believed that he was, what his friends maintained him to be, a person of considerable originality of mind, poetical talent, and elegant accomplishments; have believed it on the credit of his associates and panegyrists; but have contented themselves with taking it on trust, declining to investigate the matter by an actual inspection of the evidence. Never was the poison of bad principles more effectually sheathed in a style of thinking and writing unintelligible and uninteresting to the generality of readers; never was poetry more beclouded and bemuddled with metaphysics, and its efficiency for good or evil more completely neutralized by obscurity and affectation, than in Mr. Shelley's poems. Poetry, and beautiful poetry, is to be found in his works; though he has never, perhaps, excelled that wild, fanciful, brilliant, and absurd allegory which appeared in 1816 under the title of "*Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude.*" But the absence of the sober qualities of common sense and virtuous feeling, the incoherence, savage misanthropy, and daring impiety which disfigure that poem, and which characterize all Mr. S.'s subsequent productions, deprive his happiest efforts of the power to please, and brand them with worthlessness.

Of the unfortunate Author himself, our feelings will not allow us now to speak in other language than that of pity. The awful event which has cut him off in the midst of his career, has a striking moral, but it is of a general nature, and speaks alike to all; for we dare not interpret as a judgement, a casualty to which the most excellent and pious are equally liable. He is summoned to a higher tribunal than that of his fellow mortals; and what he here disbelieved, he by this time knows to be true. Mr. Barton's stanzas quite express our sentiments.

' There is a spell by Nature thrown
Around the voiceless dead,
Which seems to soften censure's tone,
And guard the dreamless bed
Of those who, whatsoe'er they were,
Wait Heaven's conclusive audit there,
In silence dark and dread!
And with instinctive awe our hearts
Feel all which such a spot imparts.

' We feel that we ourselves are frail
 In word, in act, in thought,—
 And rather wish a kindly veil
 In pity thrown athwart
 Errors and faults alike gone by ;
 Than have them to each gazer's eye
 In open daylight brought :
 To those who rightly think and feel,
 The dead with eloquence appeal.

' But should their very errors be
 In numbers eulogized ;
 Their phantasms urged, to set us free
 From laws by Virtue prized ;
 If their admirers, not content
 Their works should be their monument,
 Would have them canonized ;
 It seems a duty to uphold
 The faith our sires maintained of old.'

These "Verses," it seems, were suggested by an "Elegy
 "on the death of Shelley," sent to the Author, in which the
 deceased is absurdly enough styled 'a most distinguished phi-
 losopher and philanthropist,—the last defence of a bewildered
 world.' The modesty of the Elegiast prevented him, we
 suppose, from styling him the last but one ; yet, Mr. Arthur
 Brooke, whose smirking portrait seems to court the sympathy
 of his fair readers on behalf of the volume which it adorns,—
 the gentle Arthur Brooke, Gent. remains behind to enlighten
 this bewildered world. He too is at once a poet and a philoso-
 pher, though, possibly, one whom our readers never may have
 heard of. Were it not for the serious manner in which our
 friend Barton has taken up the challenge, we should have been
 disposed to think Arthur Brooke's language grave burlesque.
 We should have been very angry with him, had he meant to
 jest on such a subject as the death of poor Shelley ; but, as his
 is downright earnest folly, we forgive it for the sake of the
 verses it has called forth in reply. Mr. Barton's stanzas con-
 tain a mild, affectionate, but earnest appeal to that better dis-
 posed portion of Mr. Shelley's admirers, of whom there is still
 room to hope, that the ingenuousness of their minds has not
 been wholly vitiated, nor the susceptibility of their conscience
 destroyed, by the baleful virus of scepticism. If, in only
 one instance, they should be effectual in awakening serious re-
 flection, they will not have been published in vain. Subjoined
 are some stanzas addressed to Percy Bysshe Shelley, which ap-
 peared in our Author's first volume.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, *Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches*, by John Bristed, Author of "The Resources of the British Empire," and of "The Resources of the United States of America."

In the press, a reprint in 8vo. of Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, or *Observations on the Court of Queen Elizabeth, her Times, and Favourites*. It will be accompanied by a *Life of Naunton*, and a series of notes and historical illustrations; and will be embellished with numerous portraits, finely engraved, from original pictures.

In the press, *Popular Stories*, translated from the *Kinder und Hours-Marchen*, collected by Messrs. Grimm, from oral tradition, in different parts of Germany. To be printed in one vol. 12mo. with numerous original designs from the pencil of Mr. George Cruikshanks.

Preparing for publication, a *Series of Portraits of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain*, to be engraved in the chalk manner by Mr. R. Cooper, from the most authentic originals. To be published in numbers, each containing 4 portraits. Part I. will shortly appear.

The Rev. John Birt, of Manchester, is preparing for publication, *Five Lectures on the Pretensions and Abuses of the Church of Rome*: 1. The Claim of the Church of Rome to the appellation Catholic. 2. The connexion of the Papal Usurpation with Ecclesiastical History. 3. Genius and Characteristics of Papal Ascendancy. 4. The Church of Rome at present, viewed with reference to the past. 5. Prospects disclosed by the actual state of the world.

Preparing for publication, *Truth against Falsehood, or Facts opposed to Fiction*, in a series of Letters addressed to Douglas, the author of "No Fiction." By Lefevre. The design of these Letters is to expose to public view the calumnies contained in the above work, to unfold the real character of Douglas,

and to shew the absurdity of religious novels.

On the 19th of November will be published with the Almanacks, *Time's Telescope for 1823*, containing, besides the usual matter, an Introduction on British Entomology, with a plate of Insects coloured after nature.

Preparing for publication, *Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the natives of India*, with *Observations on the Animals*. Also, an account of many of the Customs of the Inhabitants, and natural productions, interspersed with various anecdotes. Likewise, the late Nawaub Asoph Ul Doulah's grand style of sporting and character; a description of snake-catchers, and their method of curing themselves when bitten; with remarks on Hydrophobia and rabid animals. By Dr. Johnson, Surgeon to the Hon. East India Company, and many years resident at Chittra in Ramghur.

In the press, and will appear in the course of next month, "Some Remarks on Southey's *Life of Wesley*."

On the first of December will be published in 8vo. *The Loves of the Angels*, a Poem. By Thomas Moore.

In the press and speedily will be published, a *History and Description of Fonthill Abbey*: illustrated by a series of engravings, comprehending views, plans, sections and details. By John Rutter, Shaftesbury.

Mr. Allan Cunningham, author of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, &c.* is preparing for the press, in 2 volumes, the *Adventures of Mark Macrabin, the Cameronian*, in which it is intended to exhibit a faithful picture of the beliefs, superstitions, opinions, poetical enthusiasm, and devotional and national character of the people of the Scottish Lowlands.

In the press, a *Funeral Sermon for the late Rev. John Owen, M.A.* one of the Secretaries to the B. and F. Bible Society. By the Rev. Jos. Hughes, M.A.

Art. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Memoir of the Life and Character of Walter Venning, Esq. a Member of the Committee of the London Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, who died at St. Petersburg, Jan. 10, 1821, from a fever contracted in visiting one of the gaols of that city. By Richard Knill. With a Preface by Robert Winter, D.D. With a Portrait and View of his Monument. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnæ Britanniae; an analytical catalogue of books relating to heraldry, genealogy, nobility, knighthood, and regal ceremonies; accompanied by critical observations and remarks upon their merits, and incidental notices of their authors; with an extensive list of heraldic manuscripts, and a supplement of the principal foreign genealogical works. By Thomas Moule. With wood-cuts, and a portrait of Camden. royal 8vo. 11. 16s. royal 4to. 3l. 3s.

A New Theory of the Heavenly Motions, shewing that there are no such principles as Newton; and that if they did exist, they would not solve the phenomena. In three dialogues. 8vo. 3s.

A General View of the History and Object of the Bank of England; with extracts from the Charter, Acts of Parliament, and Bye laws, &c. By John

M'Cay, late assistant secretary to the Bank of Ireland. 8vo. 6s. boards.

The Napoleon Anecdotes; illustrating the mental energies of the late Emperor of France, and the characters of his warriors and statesmen. No. 1. 2s. 6d.

Confessions of an English Opium-eater; with an appendix. fcp 8vo. 3s.

THEOLOGY.

Euthanasia; or, the State of Man after Death. By the Rev. Luke Booker, LL.D. Vicar of Dudley. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Christian Correspondence; or, a collection of letters written by Mrs. Eliza Bennis, to the Rev. John Wesley and others, with their answers. 12mo. 5s.

The Life and Christian Experience of Mrs. Eliza Bennis, extracted from her Journal, by Thomas Bennis. 12mo. 5s.

Principles of the One Faith professed by all Christians. By George Geary Bennis. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

Two Sermons occasioned by the death of Sarah, the Wife of the Rev. W. Chaplin of Bishop's Stortford. The first, by the Rev. T. Craig. The second, by the Bereaved Husband. 1s. 6d.

Growth in Grace: a Sermon preached before the Middlesex and Herts Union. By the Rev. John Knight, of Ponder's End. 1s.

A Defence of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, in reply to Ram-Mohan-Roy of Calcutta. By Dr. Marshman of Serampore. 8vo. 7s.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In reply to the Farewell Letter of N., we beg to express our hope, that we shall continue nevertheless to enjoy and to deserve the kind opinion he has been pleased to express. We take leave of our friendly Correspondent with the most cordial sense of the value of his approbation.

We have received a volunteer review of the late Rev. Mr. Bonar's "Observations on the Character of Judas Iscariot," purporting to come from the Editors of that pamphlet. The arrival of the packet containing it was duly notified to us by a twopenny-post letter from the Wharf; but it was only on sending a porter there, and paying the freightage, &c. that we were put into possession of this costly communication. We can scarcely imagine that any respectable "Editors" have played off this hoax upon us; but we take this opportunity of requesting that all similar favours may, in future, be at least carriage paid.